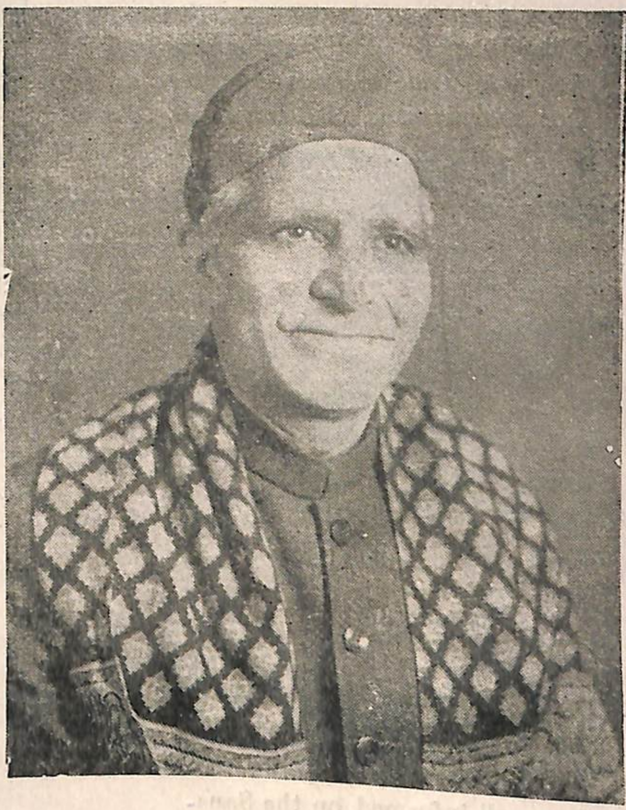
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Tantricism in Kashmir.

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Page 61 to 97.

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Sanskrit and Kashmiri Vocabulary.

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Sanskrit Kaavya of Kashmir.

PROFESSOR P. N. PUSHP.

Sanskrit *Kaavya* or poetical composition contributed[1] by Kashmir is quite considerable not only in quantity but in quality also. It is so in spite of the fact that much of the stuff presented in most of the so-called *mahaakaavyas* is conventional, pedantic and even banal; for, these defects and blemishes are more than compensated by the departures registered by writers from Kashmir, particularly in narrative verse and realistic depiction.

It is indeed a grim irony that most of the Sanskrit writers of Kashmir referred to by Kshemendra, Kalhana and Mankha as their predecessors or contemporaries are, today, mere names for us. We, for instance, hear of a Mahaakavi Chandra[2] flourishing in the reign of Tunjeena alias Ranaaditya (c. 319 A. D.) whose play attracted large audiences form all classes of people. Abhinavagupta[3] also recognises him as a fine playwright. Yet no work of his has come down to us. Of the stray verses ascribed to him in anthologies the best is the one[4] that ends with the immortal line :-

न सुग्धे प्रत्येतुं प्रभवति गतः कालहरिणः ॥

['Darling, the time- gazelle, once gone, cannot return.']

Another great poet whose works must have positively enriched Sanskrit poetry is Mentha[5] or Bhartrmentha, a rare genius, as is borne out by the stray verses of his, preserved for us by theoreticians like Kshemendra and anthologists like Vallabhadeva. His mahaakaavya, *Hayagreevavadha*[6] was held in high esteem even by his royal patron, Maatrgupta, a poet in his own right.

More than a dozen kings[7] of Kashmir are said to have made a mark in the domain of Sanskrit verse also, Jayaapeeda and Harsha being the most prominent of them. Against the background of this royal participation in Kashmir's literary activity it is not difficult to grasp the significance of Bilhana's remark[8] that in Kashmir poetry grew as luxurianly as *Kunkuma* or saffron :

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काव्यं येभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं निर्गतं कुङ्कुमञ्च ।

The earliest work that reveals some purple patches of literary value is the Neelamata Puraana (c. 600 A. D.); yet it can hardly be regarded as a *kaavya*. The earliest Sanskrit *kaavya* in Kashmir has, therefore, to be recognised in the *Arjuna-Raavaneeyam*[9] of Bhoomaka (c. 650 A D.), which appears to be patterned on the *Bhattikaavyam*. Though described (in the colophon) as a mahaakaavya the work is primarily intended to illustrate the rules of grammar as formulated in the Ashtaadhyaayee of Paanini. Most of the twentyseven *sargas* of the composition are styled according to the Ashtaadhaayee *paadas* such as *gaankutaadipaada* and *bhoovaadipaada;* while the content is worked out on the theme of the skirmish between Raavana and Kaartaveeryaarjuna, in about 1500 verses. Like the *Kiraataarjuneeya* of Bhaaravi it starts with the auspicious word *shree:*

श्रीमानभूद्भूपतिरर्जुनाख्यः कृती कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यसूनुः ।

Despite the limitations imposed by the basic objective (of illustrating Paaninian *sootras*) Bhoomaka has presented quite a lot of readable stuff.

Yet, by and large, it appears that Sanskrit writers in Kashmir concentrated more on the critical aspect than on the creative, till the ninth century. The only notable exception, is that of Udbhata who flourished in the reign of Jayaapeeda (779 - 813 A. D.). He preferred to illustrate his views on poetic ornamentation (as formulated by him in his *Kaavyaalankaara-saara-samgraha*) with his own poetic composition, *Kumaarasambhava*, imitating, of course, the Kalidasan classic. Surprisingly enough, the theoritician poet fairly succeeds in giving us a sizable number of poetic pieces which cannot be dismissed as a poor copy of the Kalidasan masterpiece. The local colour introduced by Udbhata is thematically appropriate and artistically satisfying. Of particular interest in this connection are the pieces describing the advent of autumn[10] or depicting Shiva's amorous solicitude[11] for the distraught Gauree, soon after Kaama was consumed to ashes by the unrelenting flame leaping out from Shiva's third eye. It is a pity that only 95 verses of the work are preserved in the *Kaavyaalankaara-saara-samgraha*, and the remaining portion has not so far been recovered.

Another poet of eminence who adorned the court of Jayaapeeda[12] is Daamodaragupta whose *Kuttineematam* effectively

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leavens pornography with realistic touches of wit and satire, and appropriately depicts the melieu in which the erotic adventures are periscoped. The theme centres round the prospective courtezan Maalatee, of Vaaraanasee who approaches the veteran Vikaraalaa for expert advice. The seasoned procuress reveals to the lovely aspirant various tricks of trade, relating to her a number of illustrative tales. An outstanding feature of the coverage is a sort of running commentary[13] on the stage performance of Harsha's *Ratnaavalee;* and particularly charming is the description[14] of the Spring Festival of Cupid, a riot of colourful abandon. The 1058 verses of this unusual composition are of absorbing interest not only for the authentic peep it offers into the psychology of extramarital relations, but also for the artistic handling of the theme. The performance is all the more remarkable for freedom from inhibition despite the poet's express assurance at the end that a perusal of the poem will positively save the reader from falling into the snares of pimps, scoundrels and procuresses. Daamodaragupta's command over the language is extraordinary without being pedantic, as is clear from the following verse where pedantry has been tastefully warded off:

सा स्रग्धरा सुवदना प्रहर्षिणी सैव सैव तनुमध्या ।
न करोति कस्य विस्मयमिति रुचिरा मंजुभाषिणी सैव ॥ 967 ॥

Wearing a garland she is a Sragdharaa; fair-faced, she is a Suvadanaa; delightful, she is, who is a Praharshinee; with a delicate waist she is, no doubt, a Tanumadhyaa; whom does she not impress as a Ruchiraa? Sweet of speech she is, indeed, a Subhaashinee.

To the VIII century may also be ascribed the *Sragdharaa-stotram* of Sarvajnamitra who, in 37 verses (of the *Sragdharaa* metre) propitiates Taaraa in the deenaakrandana style, making a clean confession of his sins and weaknesses, and striking an intimate note like :

स्वैर्दोषैर्वाह्यमानो मठकरभ इवानेकसाधारणांशः ।६।

['Don't you see I am being severally and collectively driven along by my own weaknesses such as deceit, envy, pride, and similar mean forces, like a monastry camel, each and everybody' property?] or,

पथ्यं मरिष्यत्यपि विपुलकृप: किं भिषग् रोरुधीति ॥८॥

['Does a physician, with all his ample compassion, withhold treatment from one even though on brink of death?]

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The Tibetan tradition[15] recorded by the *Pagsam-jon-sang* may be substantially correct that Sarvajnamitra, 'though born in Kashmir was a student of the monastry at Nalanda in Magadha where he became a great master of sciences'; for, the commentator on his work describes himself as 'Raajaguru Pandita Bhikshu Shri Jinaraksita of the Shreemad Vikramasheela Mahaavihaara'.[16] No wonder that the stotra has become part of the Tibetan *Tangyur*, like a few other works by Kashmiri scholars, particularly those by the Kashmirian Pandit teacher Ravigupta. Among the Tibetan renderings of these is one[17] by the great Kashmirian Pandit Shaakya Shree Bhadra, in 21 small chapters.

Such was the literary landscape in the VIII century Kashmir before the court epic appeared as a formal mahaaakaavya. The mahaakaavya in Kashmir, in fact, flourished after its decline in most other parts of the country; hence the dismal fact that it suffered decadence in the prime of youth. Nevertheless, the reign of Avantivarman (855-84 A D.) gave a positive fillip to it. Of rhe poets that belonged to his court,[18] Ratnaakara had already finalised his *Haravijaya* at the court of Jayaapeeda, for the colophon describes him as 'Shree- Baala- Brhaspati- anujeevin' (: a protege of Jayaapeeda alias Baala- Brhaspati) A few years before Avantivarman ascended the throne, the mahaakaavya in Kashmir seems to have registered a bold departure in the Bhuvanaabhyudaya of Shankuka. The poem, according to Kalhana,[19] was a historical composition on the fierce battle between Mamma and Utpala (c. 850 A. D.) in which

'रुद्धप्रवाहा यत्रासीद् वितस्ता सुभटैर्हतैः ।'

"the flow of the Vitasta was held up with the corpses of the valient warriors falling on the battlefield.' The loss of such an unusal work is, therefore, really tragic.

The earliest mahaakaavya (in Kashmir) that has survived, however, is the *Havavijava* (of Raajaanaka Ratnaakara) which apparently is modelled on Magha's masterpiece, the *Shishupaalavadha*. The plot, obviously, is Pauraanika: Shiva's victory over Andhakaasura whom he destroys in deference to the wishes of the gods oppressed by the demon. The treatment of so slender a thread of narrative in as many as fifty cantos (totalling up 4321 verses) could hardly be possible without disproportionate paddings and digressions loosely held together under the pedantic pretext of developing the mahaakaavya elements. Even the main theme

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of the poem has had to wait till the VI canto and to get sidetracked by a preoccupation with conventional 'war debates' (cantos IX-XVI) and an obsession with erotic trivialities (cantos XVII-XX, XXII-XXVIII). What has a ring of authenticity in Bhaaravi's *Kiraataarjuneeya*, and manages to evoke admiration even in Maagha's *Shishupaalavadha*, becomes here, a vain display of laboured wordmanship. Even the large variety of metres employed by the 'mahaakavi' cannot retrieve the poem; nor can occasional flourishes of exquisite language (matching the sound to the sense) justify the poet's boast:[20]

अपि शिशुरकवि: कवि: प्रभावात् भवति कविश्च महाकवि: क्रमेण ।

Nevertheless, the work contains a number of fine specimens that speak highly of Ratnaakara's talent (which, unfortunately, fell a victim to conventional application). Here are a few outstanding cameos of nature depiction :

उदयशिखरिशृङ्गवेदिकायां
नवरुधिरारुणकान्ति भानुबिम्बम् ।
अनुकृतदिवसप्रवेशलक्ष्मी-
प्रसवविशङ्कटगर्भशय्यमासीत् ॥२८.८०॥

('The disc of the rising sun shining red like fresh blood
on the altar- like cliff of the sun- rise top
looked like the 'labour- bed' on which
the Glory of early dawn is delivering sharp.')

अस्तावलम्बि रविबिम्बितयोदयाद्रि-
कूलोन्मिषत्सकलचन्द्रतया च सायम् ।
संध्याप्रनृत्तहरवाद्यगृहीतकांस्य-
तालद्वयेव समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मी[21] ॥ 22.24 ॥

('In the evening, when the solar disc was hanging on the sunset- peak and the fullmoon was emerging on the sunrise-cliff, the Glory of the firmament appeared holding two bronze-cymbals, as if keeping time with the twilight-dance of Shiva.')

It was this verse that earned the poet the title 'Taala Ratnaakara', on the analogy of 'Deepashikhaa Kaalidaasa', 'Aatapatra Bhaaravi' and 'Ghantaa Maagha'.

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स्रस्तांधकारवसनां रजनीपुरंध्रिमालिङ्गति प्रियसुधास्रुति दिक्सखीभिः ।
दूरं मृणालशकलामलतन्मयूखहासच्छटाञ्चितमुखीभिरिवापसस्रे ॥ 20.47 ॥

('While that nectar-emitting moon was embracing the Lady Night.
whose garment of darkness had slipped away,
her friends, the quarters smiling bright with faces
shimmering in the rays as slender as the lotus fibre - bits
silently stepped away.')

Ratnaakara's *Vakrokti- pancaashikaa* also suffers from banal word mongering, though brilliant repartees like the following are not wanting either:

त्वं मे नाभिमतो भवामि सुतनु श्वश्र्वा अवश्यं मतः
साधूक्तं भवता न मे रुचित इत्यत्र ब्रुवेऽहं पुनः ।
मुग्धे नास्मि नमेरुणां ननु स्थितः प्रक्षेस्व मां पातु वो
वक्रोक्त्येति हरो हिमालचलभुवं स्मराननां मूकयन् ॥३॥

Shivaswaamin, Ratnaakara's junior contemporary at Avantivarman's court, appears to have been equally prolific in turnout of verses in a large number of metres; but his *Kapphinaabhyudaya* is content with only 20 cantos in which he chooses to spin out a mahaakaavya based on a simple Avadaana story. According to this Buddhist legend the Master intervenes in the bloody feud between the king Prasenajit of Sraavasti and the king Kapphina of Leelaavatee (in the Vindhyas). When, on hearing the Buddha's sermon, Kapphina expresses his desire to enter the Samgha, the Master advises him, instead, to practise selfless discharge of duties as a dedicated ruler.

Shivasvaamin seems to have drawn upon Maagha as well as Ratnaakara;and the striking similarities are not confined to the structural frame-work of the poem but cover both the form and the content, and often border upon apparent plagiarism. Yet, like Ratnaakara, he too has a number of good verses to his credit, and unlike Ratnaakara, evinces command over simplicity of expression also, as in :

हसितेव जितेव तर्जितेव धर्षितेवोन्मथितेव निधुतेव ।
मधुपानमदेन मानिनीनां मनसः क्वापि जगाम मानवृत्तिः ॥ 13,18 ॥
अलसं वचनं दृशो विलोलाः स्थिरविश्रम्भरसानि चेष्टितानि ।
कलहेऽपि रतिं वितन्वतासां मधुना सूपकृतं मनोभवस्य ॥ 13.20 ॥

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Among other pieces of high literary merit Shivasvaamin gives us a very spirited description of the enraged assembly in which the chieftains are portrayed wringing their hands in fury at the aggressive designs of the foe. The episode, no doubt, reminds us of similar scenes in the *Kiraataarjuneeya* and the *Shishupaalavadha*; but Shivasvaamin is no cheap imitator. His profound originality is quite refreshing at times. In the episode just refered to, for instance, the war- council protests against the policy of procrastination and apathy, and pleads for immediate drastic action:

> नृप तदलमचिन्त्यैर्नीतिचिन्तापरार्थैः सफलयतु भुजस्ते भूभृतां वाञ्छितानि ।
> असहनसहवृद्धा साहसैकान्तकान्ता व्रजति न हि नृपश्रीर्दीर्घतां दीर्घसूत्रे ॥ 4-23 ॥
>
> इयमिह! ननु नीतिर्भीरुलोकस्य माता ,
> प्रभवति विजिगीषोर्वस्तुनः कस्य सिद्‌ध्यै ।
> वहति नयविभूतेः शक्तिरग्रेसरत्वं
> समभिदमुदपादि क्षात्रमुग्रं च तेजः ॥ 4.25 ॥

The fact that Shivaswaamin has taken pains to excell both Maagha and Ratnaakara in literary gymnastics called chitrabandha[21] (along with pratilomaanuloma, sarvatobhadra and ekaakshara etc.) is only an index to the literary fashion of the age, despite the awe- inspiring advocacy of *dhvani* (poetic suggestion) by Aanandavardhana who also belonged to Avantivarman's court. Of the four works of Aanandavardhana, refered to by him in his *Dhvanyaaloka*, *Arjunacharita* and *Madhumathanavijaya* appear to have been in Sanskrit while the other two, *Vishhamabaanaleelaa* and *Harivijaya* were in Parkrit. Since none of these has come down to us we are not in a posititon to see how far the poet had himself practised what he later on preached in his *Dhvanyaaloka*. The tesimony of his *Deveeshataka*, however, is rather hostile; for, in this work, his extreme preoccupation with the chitrabandha is shocking at times. Did he develop his views on *dhvani* after he had seen through the *alankaara* and the *reeti* schools of Indian poetics?

The Dhvani theory, naturally, sounded quite perplexing to the traditionalist poets and poetasters, some of whom did fairly well in their own old way. A near contemporary of Aanandavardhana was the celebrated Jayantabhatta whose '*Nyaayamanjaree*, a landmark in Indian Nyaaya literature, also is enlivened by poetic expression here and there; but what is more important from literary point of view

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is the *Aagamadambara*, in which he dramatises in four acts the religeo-social predicament of his times, the reign of Shankaravarman (883-902 A. D.). Quite a number of verses in the play are of high poetic merit in the non-conventional context of satire and caricature (which was earlier attempted by Daamodaragupta and, later, carried forward by Kshemendra and, to a considerable extent, by Kalhana also). This, for instance, is how he presents the sarcasric remark of a non-believer:

मृगतृष्णाम्भसि स्नात: खपुष्पकृतशेखर: ।
एष वन्ध्यासुतो याति शशशृङ्गधनुर्धर: ॥ 3.10 ॥

God is, here, ridiculed as 'the son of a barren woman, bathed in the mirage-waters, bearing sky-flowers on the crest of his head, and carrying a bow made of the horn of a hare'.

Jayantabhatta's son, Abhinanda versified the main story of Baana's *Kaadambaree*, and as is obvious from the title of his work, *Kaadambaree-kathaa-saara*, he narrated the romance without caring to go into detailed description of romantic settings. His narration, nevertheless, has advantage of ease and lucidity, a glaring contrast to the florid, highflown and involved diction of the recognised masters that has preceded him. His approach, however, is more pauraanic than poetic. The only other poet to render the *Kaadambaree* in verse was Kshemendra (whose *Padyakaadambaree* is no more extant).

The poetic element chose a new mode of expression in the works of Kshemendra; but in the context of a 'mahaakaavya 'it emerged in *Vikramaankadevacharitam* of Bilhana. He had by that time become the Vidyaapati at the Chaalukyan king, Vikramaaditya VI Tribhuvanamalla (1076-1127 A. D) at Kalyaana in (Karnaataka). With all its shortcomings as a historical document, this poem of his registers a bold departure from the earlier mahaakaavyas: it dovetails objective facts of history into imaginative improvisations of court culture. Such an experiment had, earlier, been successfully carried out in prose by Baanabhatta, but Bilhana was the first to try it in verse. Probably it was his example that was followed up by Jalhana (c. 1103 A. D.) in his (now lost) *Somapaalacharita* (glorifying the exploits of Somapaala, the dashful military governor of Raajapuree, breaking away from Uccala). The model was, perhaps, considerably improved upon by Kalhana in his (now lost) *Jayasimhaabhyudaya*

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which appears to have, later on, been incorporated into the *Raajataranginee* itself.

Bilhan has been generally lauded for his command over the diction characterised as vaidarbheereeti, which he himself describes as :

अनभ्रवृष्टिः श्रवणामृतस्य सरस्वतीविभ्रमजन्मभूमिः ॥ 18.9 ॥

'a cloudless shower of ambrosia for ears, the native-land of Sarasvatee's elegance.' This type of felicity is, no doubt, there even in his hyperbole

सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः ॥ 1.20 ॥

Yet, his descriptions are often charming and true to life as, for instance, that of his own village Khonamoosha[22] (present-day Khonmuh) or, the description of Aahavamalla's death,[23] a fine piece of simple pathos. This emotional richness of Bilhana's verse reaches its climax in his *Chaurapanchaashikaa*, a master-piece of elegant lyricism, to which we shall turn again in proper context. An outstanding feature of the *Vikramaankadevacharitam*, though not an intrinsic element of the 'mahaakaavya', is the poet's description[24] of his native land as well as his trip abroad through Mathura, Vrindaavana, Kaanyakubja, Prayaaga, Vaaraanasee, Daahala (Bundelkhand), Anhilvaada (Gujrat), Somanaatha, Raameshvaram and Kalyaana. He seems to have left the Chaalukyan court before his patron led an expedition o and beyond the Narbada in 1088/A. D.

Like Bilhana, Mankha also has incidentally offered us revealing glimpses into the Kashmir of his times (c.1140 A. D), in the third and the last (XXV) cantos of his *Shreekanthacharitam* which, again, turns to a shiva-legend for the frame-work of his 'mahaakavya'. He sems to have led a tirade against sycophancy in court poetry, and exclaims with pride that he has not flattered anybody except Shreekantha. Equally significant is his reaction against the growing tendency of the age to overburden verse with decorative artifices, and also his strong plea for a sympathetic and unbiassed study of all genuine poetry:

यातास्ते रससारसंग्रहविधिं निष्पीड्य निष्पीड्य ये
वाक्तत्त्वेक्षुलतां पुरा कतिपये तत्त्वस्पृशश्चक्रिरे ।

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जायन्तेऽद्य यथायथं तु कवयस्ते तत्र संतन्वते
ये ऽनुप्रासकठोरचित्रयमकश्लेषादिशल्कोच्चयम् ॥ 2.41 ॥
विमत्सरश्च विद्वांश्च श्रोता चेद्घटते गिराम् ।
स्यन्दते तर्हि वाग्वल्लीरसं पर्वणि पर्वणि ॥ 25.13 ॥

Hence his emphasis on the utility of literary meets and discussions:

तत्तद्विचारोपनिषद्विमृष्टं काव्यं कवेः पुष्यति निस्तुषत्वम् ।
न रत्नमायाति हि निर्मलत्वं शाणोपलारोपणमन्तरेण ॥ 2.7 ॥
विना न साहित्यविदा परत्र गुणः कथंचित् प्रथते कवीनाम् ।
आलम्बते तत्क्षणमम्भसीव विस्तारमन्यत्र न तैलबिन्दुः ॥ 2.12 ॥

He had actually submitted his own composition to the assembly of the learned at the house of his elder brother (Alankaara), and delighted at the superb recitation of 'his enthralling verse', the discerning audience were 'moved to tears of joy':

उद्यद्द्युतदीप्तिसोदरसरत्सारस्वतज्योतिषा
पूतस्तद्वचसां रसः श्रुतिपुटैः संसत्सदामापपे ।
तेषामुन्मिषतालसीलसंगिनी दृक्शुक्तिपङ्क्ती शनै-
रानन्दाश्रुपृषन्मयी तु जघटे मुक्ताफलानां ततिः ॥ 25.46 ॥

Most of the poets mentioned by Mankha in connection with this assembly have been eminent in their own way. Thus, Loshhthadeva, master of six languages, is known to us by his *Deenaakrandanastotra* which he composed while at Varanasi; Jalhana sought to immortalise his patron, the saandhivigrahika of *Raajapuree* (present-day Rajauri) in his *Somapaalacharitam* (no more extant); Shambhoo Mahaakavi wrote *Anyoktimuktaalataa* and *Raajendrakarnapoora*, a 75-verse panegyric of his patron, Harshhadeva (1073-1101); and Kalyaana (whom Buhler has rightly identified as Kalhana), is the celebrated author of the *Raajataranginee*.

The only notable composition of the court-epic type, attempted after the *Raajataranginee* is the *Prithveeraajavijaya* of Jayaanaka, which celebrates the elusive victory of the Chaahamaana king Prithveeraaja over Shahab ud Din of Ghaur in 1193 A. D. In the thirteenth century, however, Jayaratha ingeniously wove a number

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of Shaiva myths and legends into a 'mahaakaavya' of as many as 32 cantos, namely the *Haracharitachintaamani*. The work betrays symptoms of a religious psychosis manifesting itself in a narrow sectarian outlook, threatening the deviationists with dire metaphysical consequences.

This much about the conventional kaavya or mahaakaavya in Kashmir. As to the lyric which reached its full bloom in Bilhana's *Chaurapanchaashikaa*, quite a large number of stray verses of lyrical quality are quoted in various works on poetics, and anthologies. Kshemendra, in particular, cites a sizeable number in in his handbooks on poetics and metrics. Of these, Bhallata has been highly praised for his *Shataka*, by Abhinava, Kshemendra and Mammata. He was preceded by Muktaakana and his brother Chakrapaala. Loshtaka has already been mentioned in connection with his *Deenaakrandana*. Abhinavagupta's reflective hymns, despite their mystic content, are characterised by a robust outlook on life; and remind us of Shankaraachaarya's spiritual rhapsodies. But, unlike Shankara, his emphasis is on an integrated personality in which the material and the spiritual blend in harmony; and, therefore, he sings:

मा किञ्चित् त्यज मा गृहाण विरम स्वस्थो यथावस्थितः ॥

'Renounce naught, cling to nothing, enjoy yourself
unruffled, howsoever circumscribed you be.'

Abhinava's preceptor had already sought to synthesise philosophical subtlety with devotional fervour in his *Shivastotraavalee*. This very spiritual lyricism had earlier appeared in the *Sragdharaastotram* of Sarvajnamitra and later, in the *stavachintaamanee* of Bhatta Naaraayana. Centuries later it reappeared in the *Stutikusumaanjalee* of Jagaddhara (c. 1350 A. D.) and coursed through the minor works of Baka (XV cent.), Aananda (XVI cent.), Avataara (XVII cent.), Saahib Kaula (XVII cent.) and Gopaala Raajaanaka (XVIII cent.) Shilhana's *Shaantishataka* (c. 1200 A. D.) is apparently an imitation of Bhartrharee's *Vairaagyashataka*. A few gems of lyrical lustre are there in narrative works also as, for instance, in the works of Kshemendra, particularly his *Manjarees* and the *Dashaavataaracharita*. But the brightest gem of lyrical verse in Kashmir is, as pointed

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out earlier, the *Chaurapanchaashikaa* of Bilhana, a real masterpiece of elegant lyricism. Each of the 50 stanzas of this tender romance of a young teacher with his sweet pupil, a princess begins with 'adyaapi, an enchanting word of reminiscence, and depicts in simple melody an amorous scene of the lovers' romantic encouters, against which the pathos of a love-lorn heart becomes all the more haunting. Here, for instance, is an unforgetable glimpse, though a little blurred in transmission :

'Even today, I see her
confused and bashful
love-lorn and bewitching;
her hair standing on end;
looking behind the scenes into the mirror
while I stood still beside her.'

But let the original text[25] also speak :

अद्यापि तां रहसि दर्पणमीक्षमाणां
संक्रान्तमत्प्रतिनिधि मयि पृष्टलीनाम् ।
पश्यामि वेपथुमतीं च सुविभ्रमां च
लज्जाकुलां च दयितां च सविभ्रमां च ॥

Over and above the poets and the poetry talked of so far, it was in the works of Kshemendra, Somadeva and Kalhana—that Kashmir made the most significiant contribution to Sanskrit poetry. These poets of the XI and XII centuries contributed positively new trends and currents, while their predecessors had mostly contributed stray works and verses on traditional lines.

The most outstanding of these, no doubt, is Kshemendra (990-1065 A. D.) who was almost as versatile a genius as his preceptor, the celebrated Abhinavaguptaachaarya. His works numbering over thirty comprehend a large variety of topics and aspects of life and literature. His *Kalaavilaasa, Deshopadesha, Darpadalana, Samayamaatrkaa,* and *Narmamaalaa* are unique in respect of their social content and sustained satire, while his *Dashaavataaracharita*, in spite of its conventional theme, is a strikingly original composition, in terms of its relevance to the times. Even the *Avadaanakalpalataa* and the three *Manjarees* (: of the *Raamaayana*, the *Mahabhaarata* and

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the *Brhatkathaa*) are in reality distinct kaavyas, in design as well as execution, despite a number of structural flaws and technical shortcomings. These negative considerations should not be allowed to obscure the positive value of the literary transformation brought about by the poet, in these *manjarees*.

Many of Kshemendra's works like the *Chitrabhaarata*, *Kanakajaanakee*, *Shashivamsha*, *Laavanyavatee*, *Muktaavalee*, *Padyakaadambaree*, and *Vaatsyaayanasootrasaara*, are lost to us; yet the verses cited from these in his *Auchityavichaaracharchaa*, *Kavikanthaabharana* and *Suvrttatilaka*, are enough to convince us of their significance for the literary history of Kashmir.

Even apart from this quantitative contribution of Kshemendra, however, his name stands out as a unique phenomenon in Indian literature because of his satire, of which earlier poetry offered no better than a few scattered instances. Kshemendra was a sharp critic of matters, men and manners, and at the same time possessed not only a keen sense of humour, but also an uncanny knack of presentations. His wit sharpens the edge of sarcasm. His mastery over language and idiom further equipped him for the unique role he was destined to play in the domain of Sanskrit verse. He was fully conscious of the social significance of this role as is clear from an introductory verse of his *Deshopadesaa* :

हासेन लज्जितोऽत्यन्तं न दोषेषु प्रवर्तते ।
जनस्तदुपकाराय ममायं स्वयमुद्यम: ॥ (I.14)

'Put to severe ridicule one does not take to evil ways;
hence my conscious endeavour to do him good.'

In spite of his occasional gusto for the niceties of erotics, he has managed to escape the snares of literary wantonness. He has no pretention to artistic detachment, either, on which conventional Sanskrit verse has waxed so eloquent, calling it 'akin to divine bliss' (: brahmaananda-sahodara). Nor does he suffer from aesthetic snobbery that makes much ado about pretty nothing. He, in fact, more than once seeks to remind us of his utilitarian outlook on poetry, and his moral tone rings clear in assertions like :

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क्षेमेन्द्रेण सुभाषितं कृतमिदं सत्पक्षरक्षाक्षमम् ।

'Kshemendra has composed these lovely verses
capable of defending righteousness.' (Narm. 8.4)

Satpaksha-rakshaa-kshamam is, certainly, an unequivocal statement of the objective aimed at. Kshemendra, accordingly, undertook to caricature the kaayastha only to ridicule social and administrative corruption :

हासायातीतकायस्थचरितं कर्तुमीरितः ।
करोति तत्प्रसङ्गेण दुराचारविडम्बनम् ॥ (नर्म० 1.16)

Asked to depict the kaayastha 'of the past', for the sake of 'fun' he incidentally unmasked the socio-administrative bunglings of the age, the reigns of Samgraamaraaja (1004-1029 A.D.), Ananta (1029-64 A.D.) and Kalasha (1064-84 A.D.).

In the *Kalaavilaasa* too he strikes a similar note. While describing the thousand and one viles of rogues and scoundrels he wittily warns ;

'These guiles should, no doubt, be understood,
but not practised;'

Satire according to Kshemendra is, thus, an effective social weapon which, rightly wielded, proves a pleasing deterrant; and this, invariably, is the express intention of his *Deshopadesha*, *Narmamaalaa*, *Darpadalana*, *Kalaavilaasa*, *Samayamaatrkaa* and *Sevva-sevakopadesha* which are predominantly satirical. Even his *Dashaavataaracharita* is enlivened by poignant ironies of life that make the *pauraanik* myths relevent to the age. Almost all these works are replete with vivid caricatures of a wide cross-section of the life around the poet. In these literary cartoons he exposes sham and pretention, fraud and hypocricy, avarice and vested interest. He has a dig at quacks and busybodies, bullies and sychophants, wanton women and henpecked husbands, pimps and procuresses, opportunists and exploiters, priestly jugglers and superstitious followers, hoarders and middlemen, moneylenders and deposit-grabbers, backbiters and blackmailers, mercenaries and commission-agents, voluptuous nuns

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and lustful monks; and last but not the least, the unrelenting kaayastha.

Time and again, he takes these whimsical and avaricious agents of allround exploitation to task; and, who would not agree with him when he depicts them as :

कृपणाक्रन्दबधिरा मदान्धा न्यायमौनिनः ।
भूपाला कृष्णहृदयाः लोकपीडारताः सदा ।। (देशा०10.10)

'Deaf to the bewailings of the poor sufferers,
blind with the pride of power and pelf,
dumb for justice and black of heart—
the rulers are always busy exploiting people.'

He describes them as 'the submarine are that dries up the ocean of national wealth.' It is, in fact, they that have 'devoured the whole populace'; for they are 'entrenched in a hundred viles'. The bumper crop in its prime like the full moon was devoured in a trice by the Raahu-like vieeful divira (: the clerk) and these very 'robbers in disguise' had 'denuded the earth of her rich treasures'.

One clearly hears the heart of Kshemendra beat in his spontaneous outbursts[26] like :

खलेन धनमत्तेन नीचेन प्रभविष्णुना ।
पिशुनेन पदस्थेन हा प्रजे क्व गमिष्यसि ।। (कला० 1.17)

'Ah populace, where will you go
when the mean, petty and ambitious backbiter
mad after wealth
has occupied the seat of power !'

The whole personality of the kaayastha is anatomised by him as :

'bhoorja-record-bannered messengers of death,
devilish experts in counting and discounting,
visiting the world and smashing the masses
with vehement punishments.' (Kalaa. 5.12)

The expression, '*bhoorja-dhvaja*, (: the birch-bannered) is an appropriate characterisation of the filemongers equipped with the unrelen-

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ting redtape. (And don't we find them alive and kicking even today ?) These kaayasthas were clever experts at forgery, misappropriation and embezzlement, and in the words of Kshemendra :

रेखामात्रविनाशात् सहितं कुर्वन्ति ये रहितम् । (कला० 5.11)

'they turned the plus into a minus by just depriving it of a single stroke'. The 'Almighty Pen'[27] of the kaayastha was highly dreaded by the common folk 'who looked upon the crooked syllables scribbled by him' in his vicious records as 'coiled serpents infesting the tops of bhoorja trees'[28]. The drop of ink dripping from the kaayastha's pen reminds the poet of 'the collyrium-tinged tears of Mother earth plundered by the tyrant'[29].

But the kaayastha is not the only devil to be reckoned with. He is, no doubt, the most prominent of a gang of social marauders whose palms are always poised for tips :

मन्त्रि-सेनापति-द्वाःस्थ-सभापति-पुरोहितैः ।
उत्कोच-द्रविणोत्तान-पाणिभिः क्षपिताः प्रजाः ॥ (दशा० 10.14)

'The populace has been annihilated by (the unholy combine of) the minister, the military chief, the gate officer and the priest, whose palms are always outstretched for bribes.'

Against the background of this bungling by kaayastha bureaucracy (or should we not call it Kaayasthocracy ?) it is not difficult to appreciate Kshemendra's depiction of the common man's sad plight. The callousness of the stiff-necked kaayastha presents a glaring contrast[30] to the humiliated looks of a demoralized servant humbling himself to dust before his lord. 'While bowing before his master, the servant chances to see his belly, the root cause of humiliation, and in discomfiture looks at the earth as if to seek refuge.' 'What an irony of fate! Obsessed by the stubbornness of hope the servants bear their folded hands upon their brows like a standard of servility; remorse agitates their hearts, and yet flattery dances on their lips.'

The following picture of a job-hunter [31] reminds us of his

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modern counterpart who goes about knocking at unwelcome doors in search of employment :

> 'Severely scolded by the sturdy-armed gatekeeper that blocks the way,
> gnashing his teeth out of rage at the callous creak of the doors,
> the servant is eager to get in even through the tightly pressed legs of the man on duty
> by bending his back;
> and he enquires of the dumb out-going comrades
> if there is any chance of his getting in'.

And there is caustic sarcasm in this running commentary[32] of his :

> 'His eye fixed at the door, his hands folded,
> his tongue devoted to flattery,
> his head bent low——
> Ah, the servant has dedicated every limb of his to social-service.'

Verily the servant is as blind as the master : 'one out of arrogance, the other out of avarice; dehumanised by riches or poverty, who cares to look at whom ?'[33]

The cartoon of a hoarder[34] (whose tribe is not extinct yet) even today makes an interesting study in unrelenting malevolence :

> 'The greedy hoarder has, indeed, forgotten the all-devouring time also;
> why, otherwise, shouldn't he sell the paddy stored some sixty years ago ?
> He dances round in glee whenever the rains fail or it rains too much.
> The miserly fellow pines for a severe famine occasioned by a rise in food prices.'

Kshemendra's verse is compact of such literary cartoons[35] of unfailing social appeal. He has not forgotten even his own fellow-workers, but has tellingly screened the peevish arrogance of an upstartish scholar 'who gets headache the moment he hears of others' rise.'

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Thus, though mostly burlesque, Kshemendra's satire quite often touches great heights of artistic excellence. Nevertheless, on appropriate occasion, it tends to become lampoon, and sometimes even borders on vulgarity, narrowly escaping the clutches of pornography. Absurd buffoonery, however, is seldom permitted by him to mar the dominant tone of decency. A few jarring notes here and there, of course, sound intolerable; but these lapses are temperamental rather than technical, and deviations are generally deliberate. Parody, caricature, ridicule, lampoon, irony of contrast, antithesis and anecdotal fun, all are there in him, very competently employed to suit the genius of his satire; and herein lies his forte as a literary debunker.

His *Brhatkathaamanjaree*, however, is doubtlessly surpassed in craftsmanship by the *Kathaasaritsaagara* of Somadeva, a junior contemporary of his, who about 1070 A. D. presented to the world one of the finest collections of tales strictly in accordance with the original (paishaachi) text of the Brhatkathaa. In his preamble he talks of his primary concern about 'facilitating comprehension of the tangled web of the narrative' rather than about 'display of literary sophistication' (perhaps a dig at Kshemendra's *Manjaree*). Yet, he calls his work 'a compilation of the essence of the *Brhatkathaa*':

बृहत्कथायाः सारस्य संग्रहं रचयाम्यहम् ॥३॥

Somadeva has covered the whole range in 24,000 verses, comprising 18 lambakas spreading into 154 tarangas, all severally and collectively contributing to the 'Ocean of the Streams of Stories'. The vast expanse of the Ocean comprehends tales of myth and mystery, wit and wisdom, fad and folly, fun and frolic, love and lust, ambition and adventure, meanness and magnanimity, cowardice and chivalry, greed and gratification, envy and jealousy, tact and strategy, campaign and intrigue, hate and infatuation, creed and dogma, feud and fraternity, trust and betrayal, faith and frivolity, solicitude and allergy, chastity and easy virtue, rape and rescue, prudery and recklessness, fetish and sagacity, divinity and devilry, and much more. They tell not only of bird and beast, but also of adventurous lovers, intriguing wives, fastidious vampires, puzzling ghouls, obliging giants, considerate profligates, callous brothers, scheming

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stepmothers, unsuspecting stepsons, guileful bawds, alluring pimps, resisting ladies, stubborn beauties, succumbing simpletons, self-sacrificing idealists, exploiting self-seekers, and such other typical, individuals, covering quite a wide cross-section of human behaviour and social panorama. All this is done in a highly pleasing manner weaving story out of story, so that interest in what follows is effortlessly sustained. The language used is lucid and the style appropriate, taking full advantage of the situation or the context. and yet steering clear of conventional ornamentation. This very simplicity of effective narration, perhaps, helped the *Kathaasaritsaagara* in gradually superseding the *Braatkathaa* as well as the *Brhatkathaamanjaree*, so much so that, in course of time, it became the foundational source-material for translation in other languages. The first Persian rendering (in Kashmir) was prepared at the instance of Sultan Zain al-Abideen (mid XV cent.), under the title *Bahar al Asmaar*[36] (wrongly regarded by some scholars as a rendering of the *Raajataranginee*). A few lines from such a vast treasure of views and perspectives can at best present just a limited sample or two. Nevertheless, here they are :

यथा यथा पूर्णकला साभूत्तनुरिवैन्दवी ।
नरवाहनदत्ताब्धिश्चुक्षुभे स तथा तथा ॥ 6.164 ॥

(Naravaahanadatta felt progressively agitated like the ocean, as she (Madanamanchukaa) digit by digit, gradually developed into a full blown beauty like full moon.)

कन्दुको भित्तिनिक्षिप्त इव प्रतिफलन्मुहुः ।
आपतत्यात्मनि प्रायो दोषोऽन्यस्य चिकीर्षितः ॥ 5.213 ॥

(Evil often rebounds on the person intending to perpetrate it on others, like a ball repeatedly tossed on to the wall.)

The work is replete with well-turned phrases and expressions like the following that have acquired a proverbial ring :

1. Krtaghnaanaam shivam kutah ? (I.3.44)
2. Yaa yasyaabhimataa moorkha suroopaa tasya saa bhavet. (I.5.51)

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3. Bhadrakrt bhadramaapnuyaad abhadram chaapyabhadrakrt. (III.6.212)

4. Upapradaanam lipsoonaamekam hyaakarshhasaadhanam. (V. 1.119)

5. Aapadi sphurati prajnaa yasya dheerah sa eva pi. (II.4.41)

Another remarkable feature of Somadeva's narrative art is economy of strokes to conjure up setting and atmosphere relevant to the theme.[87]

The art of narration carried to such a high pitch by Somadeva was, no doubt, there in his contemporaries and predecessors also a good deal, and was put to maximum advantage by his successors too, but only as a secondary tool. Kalhana's *Raajatarangine*e, for instance, has a number of stories embedded into the historical narrative. His literary contribution, nevertheless, is qualitatively different: it lies in realistic depiction of the grim socio-political life of the land, not in chronological isolation or dynastic seclusion of the ruling powers he has used as practical frame-work for his 'kaavya', but in a perpetual flux of cause and effect (despite the occasional reference to mysterious intervention of destiny, individual as well as collective). Kalhana's has been a unique experiment. It is unique in the sense that before him no classical poet had cared or dared to take such a vast historical canvas into his poetic sweep. Kalidaas's canvas was confined to the Raghu dynasty: Bilhana preoccupied his poetic fancy with the loves and conquests of his patron; while Kalhana wove his 'poem' out of the total continuum of his historical awareness. The weak links here and there, particularly in the earlier tarangas call for no apology: these are understandable in terms of his limitations, material as well as intellectual. These are there despite his resolve to ensure authenticity of statement, (to use his own term: *bhootaarthakathanam*) by dint of personal observation, documentary evidence, objective inference and plausible conjecture.

Kalhana's keen historical sense and sharp critical talent, matched by his flexible imagination and fine sensibility, despite his failings and shortcomings, cannot but be recognised as a telling differential of his work He is fully conscious of his responsibility as a historian; but at the same time he bows to the innate greatness of the poet's

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creative faculty, and emphatically asks: 'Who else but poets as creators, adepts in charming creativity, have the calibre to bring the past to our very eye?' 'Charming creativity' (:ramya-nirmaana, in the poet's own words), certainly, has got to be wedded to what he has called 'bhootaartha-kathana,' (authenticity of statement). It appears that Kshemendra's *Nrpaavalee* (not extant) which Kalhana consulted but did not very much admire as history, must have been rich enough in candid and realistic depiction, like his other works. What, however, provoked Kalhana to censure it must have been its tendency to fictionalise factual situations. Kalhana in this respect, was an antithesis of Kshemndra. Yet, his account of times he has dealt with is not merely a matter-of-fact narrative, but a portrayal with poetic insight particularly of the period nearer his own. His chronicle is rich in glimpses of the socio-political setup of the times, and numerous are the realistic pictures of the distress caused by famine, food and frost, as well as by avaricious opportunists, unscrupulous self-seekers, and wicked mischief-mongers that ruined the lovely land of which he was so fond and proud. His devastating denunciation of all these anti-social elements is inspired by dignified indignation quite in keeping with the spirit of 'impartiality' he had adopted as his poetic credo; for to him it meant neither connivance nor indifference, but a fair assertion based on objective analysis of situations. To make such stuff the subject-matter of poetry, therefore, is no mean achievement.

The whole work, in fact, has been conceived by him as an organic whole, all the eight *tarangas* flowing severally collectively one into the other as well as all together. Various *rasas* are found here emerging in various situations and then merging into the *shaanta*, the dominant *rasa*. It goes to Kalhana's credit that, unlike mahaakavis who create scope for a particular rasa in a poem, Kalhana simply 'uncovers' a particular rasa in a situation and appropriately manifests it in creative treatment, without getting bogged down in conventional technicalities. Here, for instance, is the portrayal of a famine caused by an untimely snowfall, a piece complete in itself, and yet forming an integral part of the contextual whole:

पाकोन्मुखशरच्छालिच्छन्नकेदारमण्डले ।
मासि भाद्रपदेऽकस्मात् पपात तुहिनं महत् ॥

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तस्मिन् विश्वक्षयोद्युक्तकालाट्टहासितोपमे ।
न्यमज्जच्छालयः साकं प्रजानां जीविताशया ॥
अथासीत्क्षुत्परिक्षामजनप्रेतकुलाकुलः ।
प्राकारो निरयस्येव घोरो दुर्भिक्षविप्लवः ॥
पत्नी प्रीतिं सुतःस्नेहं पितृदाक्षिण्यमातुरः ।
कुक्षिंभरिः क्षुदुत्तप्तो विसस्माराखिलो जनः ॥ 2.18-21 ॥

'Unexpectedly in the month of Bhaadon all of a sudden
there was a heavy snowfall
on the fields covered with autumn crop (of paddy)
ripening fast.
It appeared as if Kaala (: Time, the Destroyer),
was out to annihilate the universe;
Into it sank the crop, along with peoples'
hope of survival.
Then came the disaster of a dire famine,
like the rampart of Niraya (the child of fear and death),
the hell,
thronged by dismal hordes of ghost-like famished men.
The tormented (victims, distressed by hunger, anxious to fill
their (empty) bellies, all,
forgot love for wife, affection for son and regard
for father.........'

Unlike most other contemporaries of his, Kalhana does not revel in offering mere types of character. He delineates individuality even in those that belong to typical groups. In this respect he appears to be at his best while presenting complex personalities like Ananta, Kalasha, Harsha, Uchchala, Sussala and Jayasimha and even Didda who was not so near him in point of time. The lame-footed queen surprised her subjects when she successfully broke through all the barriers set up by her swarming enemies; and Kalhana describes her achievement very crisply thus:

गोष्पदोल्लङ्घने यस्याः शक्तिर्नाज्ञायि केनचित् ।
वायुपुत्रायितं पङ्ग्वा तया संघाब्धिलङ्घने ॥ 4.226 ॥

'The lame-footed (queen) whom none would suspect of
the strength to go across a puddle,
displayed the mettle of Hanumaana in crossing the ocean
of hostile swarms.'

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The *Raajataranginee* abounds in masterly descriptions of matters, men and manners. Even campaigns and expenditions, invasions and confrontations, are graphically described with rich details of topogaphy and terrain, without jeopardising literary excellence. The campaign of Dugdhaghaata[41] may be cited here as one of the many events which are so graphically described that while reading the lines we feel as if we are being treated to a running commentary.

The tradition so gracefully set up by Kalhana in 1148-50 A. D. was followed by Jonaraaja in his sequel to *Raajataranginee*, about three centuries later with admirable efficiency. He seems to have secured better intensity in his work perhaps because of the narrower range of his chronicle, which covers, more or less, the earlier period of the enlightened Sultan Zain al Aabideen's life (1417-59 A. D.) against the gruesome background of his predecessor's bigotry and the depredations by marauders like Zulqadr Khan and desperadoes like Renchen. This is how Jonaraaja depicts the citizens' panic at the unholy combine of these marauders;

अधो डुल्चाम्बुपूराद्भीगिरौ रिञ्चनमारुतात् ।
छायाजुषां फलाढ्यानां पुंनागानामभूत्तदा ॥ 167 ॥

'They were rich in foodstuffs and had resorted to shady nooks
like snakes having abundance of fruit and rest in shade.
But they dreaded Dulcha (;Zulqadr Khan) below, and Renchan
on the hill above,
like the snakes afraid of the rapid current of water below
and the storm on the hill above.'
And when Dulcha left, the surviving citizens came out of their hide-out like frightened rats; but the threat of Renchen was still there, as if the 'sunset peak with its lofty cliff was obstucting movement of the moon after it had just escaped the Raahu's grip.'
Talking of the tyranny on the eve of Zain al Aabideen's accession, Jonaraaja observes:

मरुद्भिरिव वृक्षाणां शालीनां शलभैरिव ।
तन्मतस्थैः खलैश्चक्रे भङ्गः कश्मीरसंविदाम् ॥ 712 ॥

'Wicked people belonging to his faith worked havoc
with the spiritual tradition of Kashmir,
as the storms do with trees, or locusts with paddy-crops.'

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Zain al Aabideen's genuine solicitude for his subjects irrespective of colour, caste or creed, warms up his heart :

तन्नीतिः पूर्वराजेषु कुण्ठोत्कण्ठाः प्रजा व्यधात् ।
गुणातिशायिनी या च शर्करेक्षुरसेष्विव ॥ 978 ॥
पूर्वराजव्यवस्थाः स विनष्टा नवयन्नभूत् ।
शिशिरोपहृतावल्लीर्वसन्त इव भूपतिः ॥ 979 ॥

for

सौम्याः भीमाः गुणाः यस्मिन्नवसन्नवसंगमम्
क्वान्यत्र सागराद्दृष्टा विषामृतजलानलाः ॥ 1023 ॥
उच्छृङ्खान् स नयन्मज्ञ निम्नानापूरयन्नृपः ।
स्वकीर्तिबीजवापार्थमनुद्घातां महीं व्यधात् ॥ 1099

'His policy, excelling in quality, dulled the people's yearning
for kings of yore,
like sugar of a superior quality that alleviates longing
for the sugarcane juice.'
He went on restoring the old administrative conventions
that had disappeared,
just as Spring rejuvinates the creepers blasted by winter.
In him dwelt, indeed, in new accord,
qualities both sublime and awesome.
Where else but in the ocean do we find together
nectar and poison, fire and water?
That king broke up the arrogant, and uplifted the low,
as if he were levelling down the
ups and levelling up the downs,
preparing thereby the soil, the earth, for sowing
seeds of his reputation.'

Unfortunately Jonaraaja died in 1459 A D. leaving his chronicle unfinished, but his brilliant pupil, Shreevara who was a very intimate associate of the King, wrote the third Raajataranginee which is far superior to his preceptor's work, and at times closely approaches the sublimity of Kalhana's composition. He also seems to be very much concerned about the people's welfare. Here, for instance, is the description of a famine caused by an untimely snowfall:

दुर्भिक्षदुःस्थितं लोकं कथं पश्यति सांप्रतम् ।
इतीव भूरभूच्छन्नमुखी हिमसितांशुकैः ॥ 2.13 ॥

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'It appeared as if the earth was trying to cover her face
with a white sheet of snow;
How could she afford to look (helplessly) at the people
afflicted with the scourge of a famine ?
Day and night, throughout, long unending processions
of people begging for food
entered houses hoarding food-grains
as if arrows were (incessantly) going in.'

And, here is an account of flood occasioned by excessive rains :

वृष्टयुपद्रवसन्नद्धा फलादिर्यहरणाकुला: ।
उत्थिता बुद्बुदव्याजाद्दुष्टा नागफणा इव ॥
वृक्षा: सर्वत्र पत्रान्त: पतद्वृष्टिस्वनच्छलात् ।
अश्रुबिन्दूनिवामुञ्चन् रुदन्तो जनचिन्तया ॥
अत्युच्चपातकृन्नीचोन्नतिदं च निरङ्कुशम् ।
आसीदपथगं सत्यं तदा जलविजृम्भितम् ॥ (2.5.7.10)

'The bubbles (of rain-water) rise like wicked serpent-hoods
bent upon doing rain-mischief,
eager to take away the bumper crop.
The sound of showers falling through the tree-foliage
created the impression
that the trees, out of solicitude for the people
were shedding tears and crying aloud.
The turbulent waters in turmoil had really run amuck:
they knocked down the high,
they lifted up the low.'

Shreevara's chronicle (1459-77 A. D.) is a rich storehouse of such apt and effective description of pleasure trips, social festivals, bitter quarrels and fateful mishaps. The poet's intimacy with his patron had stood him in good stead, no doubt; but it was his keen observation and good taste that conditioned his artistic choice. The masterpiece of a letter from the distressed king to one of his sons, deserves being quoted in full for its urgent pointedness in terms of poetic appeal .

पुत्र मेऽवसरो दुष्टस्तादृक् प्राप्तो दुरुत्तर: ।
यत्र मत्प्राणसन्देहे गतिर्नान्या त्वया विना ॥
मत्पभावेक्षणे युक्तं शयितस्य तवासनम् ।

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आसीनस्य समुत्थानमुत्थितस्य च धावनम् ॥
किमन्यत्सत्यमेवोक्तं त्यक्त्वाऽपि श्रुतयन्मरणम् ।
यद्यागच्छसि तत्तूर्णं पूर्णं प्राप्स्यसि वाञ्छितम् ॥
अतितूर्णं न चेत्प्राप्तो मयि जीवति विह्वले ।
गते मयि मदभ्यर्णं पुनरागमनेन किम् (2.86-89)

'Son, I am in grave crisis, so hard to tide over
that none else but you can save my life.
The moment you see my letter, sit up if lying down,
stand you up if sitting, run if already up.
Yes, what else? Painful to hear. Nonetheless,
the sooner you come the better would you achieve
your end.
If you do not come quick enough
while I am precariously alive,
What use if you do come to me when I have left the world?'

Describing the festival of music and dance at Vejibror (then known as Vijayeshvara-kshetra) he remarks:

'While being treated to the performance of music and dance
the ears and the eyes argued to each other:
I have enjoyed it more than you.'

A revealing glimpse of the Dal Lake offered by Shreevara, incidentally, gives us a peep into his unostentatious diction and approach too :

शैवलन्ति द्रुमाः यत्र कमठन्ति च पर्वताः ।
पुर्यश्च नागलोकन्ति जलान्तर्यत्र बिम्बिताः ॥
यत्र च लतूणभूशालिकुलानि सरसीरुहाम् ।
तत्सौगन्ध्यमिवाघ्रातुमानतानीक्षते जनः ॥ 4.37-38 ॥

'Reflected within its waters, trees appear as weeds,
mountains as tortoises,
and towns like (underworld) habitation of Naagas.
People enjoy the sight of paddy-clusters
on the floating fields
bending low as if to just inhale the fragrance
of the lotuses (growing in the crystal waters of the Dal).'

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Shreevara had the additional advantage of being a scholar of Persian and (perhaps) Arabic too, as is clear from the colophon of his *Kathaakautuka* (written in 1505 A. D.):

इति यवनशास्त्रपारंगतपण्डितश्रीवरविरचिते कथाकौतुके ।

This work of his, in fact, is a Sanskrit rendering of Mulla Jaami's Persian masterpiece, Yoosaf-Zulaikhaa; yet he has very creditably adapted the Persian conceit to the needs of the Sanskrit *atishayokil* (hyperbole) and domiciled the alien idiom, as far as possible. Here is a typical piece from the work, describing the heroine's unique beauty:

दृष्टमत्यद्भुतं तस्यां द्वयमात्मविरोधकृत् ।
अहो मुखस्वरूपोत्थं तमी च कचसम्भवा ॥
ताराहारावली कण्ठे कुम्बुकण्ठ्या विराजते ।
सेवितुं मुखशीतांशुं प्राप्ता नक्षत्रसंततिः ॥ 2.10,13 ॥

'Wonderful, indeed, in her two opposites are seen :
the day in her complexion, the night in her tresses.
The star-necklace decorates her conch-like (lovely) neck,
as if the stars have come to serve the moon, the face.'

The Persian mystical tradition of discerning the *real* in the *phenomenal*, too has been rendered in the true Indian fashion as seeing, '*vairaagya*' in '*anuraaga*' or '*yoga*' in '*bhoga*'.

नास्ति लोकेऽपरं किञ्चिच्चानुरागं विना परम् ।
तत एव हि वैराग्यं जायते सुखदं पुनः ॥ 1.49 ॥

And that indeed is the moral of this romantic poem. But no poet after him seems to have gone beyond him attempting such an artistic synthesis of the Persian and Sanskrit romances. The *Delaarama-kathaasaara* of Bhattaahlaadaka (c. 1500 A. D.) nevertheless, draws upon a sourece and tradition other than Indian. He takes the story of Delaaraana, a courtezan, from the 'Muslim' lore and retells it briefly in Sanskrit with the express aim of 'delighting the minds' of those that could not read it in the original:

एषा कथा मौसलशास्त्रदृष्टा भूयिष्टसद्वाच्यमहाविशिष्टा ।
मनोविनोदाय सतां जनानां गीर्वाणवाण्या क्रियते मयाद्य ॥ २ ॥

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Despite his artificial diction imitating the decadent models, Aahlaadaka stands out as a good entertainer. He avoids monotony by varying the metre according to the contextual need and also by naturalizing the details without making them banal as, for instance, in cantos 11 and 12. In the former he describes the garden of Delaaraama, while in the latter he describes the head-to-top loveliness of the courtezan. His sense of proportion speaks throughout the 404 verses of the story told in 13 cantos, the length varying between 22 and 56 according to the demand of subject-matter; while catholicity of outlook is apparent from the very opening verse serving the purpose of a *mangalaacarana* :

नमस्कृतिर्यस्य परं सपर्यावियप्रसूनैर्न तु धूपदीपैः ।
सदैव युष्मान्महिमा प्रभूतः पायात्स्वदैवस्य हितस्य तस्य ॥ १ ॥

'May the greatness of that benevolent Divinity of yours always protect you,
Who is best worshipped with the excellent flowers of homage
rather than with incense and the lamp.'

No more poems like this, exploiting non-Sanskritic sources have come down to us though the catholic spirit of worship, in the true tradition of Kashmir Shaivism has, all along, inspired many a hymn, including the highly philosphical ones by Saahib Kaula (c. 1700 A.D.).

The tradition of writing poetical chronicles, however, lingered on, till the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar (c. 1586 A.D), and Praajyabhatta in collaboration with his pupil, Shuka, wrote the fourth *Raajataranginee*. Though they could not make much advance in poetic expression, yet from the thematic point of view their chronicle is not utterly devoid of lovely pieces of narration and portrayal, which are quite in line with Kashmir's contribution to Sanskrit poetry.

After Shuka's *Raajataranginee*, the only works worth mentioning are the *Durbhiksha-taarodayaasta* of Ishvara Kaula on the severe famine of 1878 A. D., and the *Jitamalacharitam* of Shukadeva Shastri, on the matyrdom of Baba Jito. Among other literary curiosities, however, reference may be made to memoranda in Sanskrit verse like that submitted by Kashmiri Pandits to Ranjit Deva of Jammu, the Sanskrit rendering of stray persian verse as attempted, for instance, by Raajaanaka Gopaala, or Raajataranginee sequels [42] attempted by late Professor Govind Razdan.

This, then, in brief is an account of the Sanskrit Kaavya of Kashmir.

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THE NILAMATA PURANA.

A BRIEF SURVEY.

DR. VED KUMARI GHAI.

The Nilamata is a Kashmiri Purana referred to by Kalhana as one of the sources of the ancient history of Kasmira. Buhler, whom goes the credit of saving its manuscripts, states on page 41 of his Report, "Its great value lies therein that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required to explain the *Rajatarangini* and that it shows how Kalhana has used his sources". But as a matter of fact, the Nilamata gives besides, the account of sacred places, a lot of information about the Kasmiri way of living. The picture of ancient 'Kasmira' presented by its study is not complete and compact, still it is significant for its value which is supplementary to that of the *Rajatarangini*. While the *Rajatarangini* acquaints us with kings, queens and ministers of 'Kasmira', the Nilamata generally speaks of common men in their homes, streets, gardens and temples. The life of the common people, the food and drinks they took, the amusements they resorted to, the currents of religious thoughts they followed and the rites and ceremonies they performed throughout the year are described therein. If the *Rajatarangini* is important from the point of view of the political history of 'Kasmira', the Nilamata is no less important for the cultural history of that part of the country.

Date :

Kalhana (12th Century A. D.) refers to it as a work of great antiquity. The absence of the term 'avatara' and the use of the term 'Pradurbhava' for incarnation of gods, non-mention of Kalki, Krisna's consort Radha and the sacred leaf of Tulasi, mention of Buddha as an incarnation of Visnu in a spirit of catholicity and the incorporation of its various verses into the Brahma Purana long before the time of Laksmidhara (1104-1154 A. D) further indicate its early date. The textual study of the work shows that some alterations and additions have been made in it after the ninth or tenth century A. D. in order to

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incorporate into it the monistic Saiva Philosophy of Kasmira. Had the Nilamata been composed after the ninth century A.D. there would have been no scope for such change. The lower limit of the date thus may be eigth century A. D. and the upper one about the sixth century A. D. as Buddha began to be regarded as an incarnation of Visnu from about 550 A. D.

Out-line of the contents:

The Nilmata opens with Janamejaya's enquiry from Vaisampayana as to why the king of 'Kasmira' did not participate in the war of Mahabharata although his kingdom was not less important than any other in the country. Vaisampayana states that some time before the Mahabharata war was fought, king Gonanda of Kasmira had been invited by his relative Jarasandha to help him in a war against the yadavas. Gonanda complied with his request and was slain on the battle field by Krsna's brother, Bala. In order to avenge his father's death, Gonanda's son Damodara went to Gandhara to fight with Krsna who had gone there to attend a Svayamvara. Krsna killed Damodara in the fight but taking into consideration the high sanctity of Kasmira, he coronated his rival's pregnant widow Yasovati. Damodara's posthumos son Bala Gonanda was a minor at the time of the great war, so he did not join either the Kauravas or the Pandavas.

Vaismpayana points out the importance of 'Kasmira' by referring to its numerous charms and its identification with Uma. He points out further that the valley was originally a lake known as Satisaras. This leads to the question about the origin of 'Kasmira' to which Vaisampayana replies by relating a dialogue held previously between Gonanda and the sage Brahadasva.

Brahadasva gives at first the account of the divisions of time, the destruction of the world at the end of *manvantara*, the presevation of Manu and the seeds in a ship, the birth of the land and the lake, of Sati, the origin of various tribes from Kasyapa and Visnu's allottment of Satisaras to the Nagas. Then follows the story of the demon Jalodbhava born in the waters and reared by the Nagas. Having obtained boons from Brahma, the demon began to destroy the descendants of Manu dwelling in the lands of Darvabhisara, Gandhara Juhundura, the Sakas, the Khasas etc. Seeing this devastation, Nila the king of the Nagas approached his father Kasyapa and prayed

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to him to intercede with the gods to punish the evil-doer and to save the innocent victims. He requested the gods, Brahma, Visnu and Siva to do the needful. Visnu followed by Brahma, Siva and various other deities, proceeded to Naubandhana to punish the demon. The demon was imperishable in the waters; so Visnu asked Ananta to make an outlet for the waters by breaking forth the mountain-barriers. He did accordingly. Visnu then cut off the demon's head with his disc. Now the dry land being available in the valley, Kasyapa expressed the desire that it should be inhabited by the Nagas as well as by the descendants of Manu. The Nagas, however, flatly refused to have Manavas as their co-habitants. Filled with rage Kasyapa cursed them to live with the Pisacas. At the request of Nila the curse was modified to the extent that the Pisacas would go every year for a period of six months to the sea of sand and the Manavas would live in the land jointly with the Nagas during that period. Visnu further assured the Nagas that the occupation of Kasmira valley by the Pisacas would last for four ages only.

After the passing away of the four ages, the Manavas, as usual, had gone out for six months. An old Brahmana, Candradeva did not accompany them. Troubled by the Pisacas he approached the Naga King Nila and begged of him to ordain that 'Kasmira' might henceforth be inhabited by Manavas without the fear of emigration. Nila complied with this request on the condition that the Manavas should follow his instructions revealed to him by Kesava. Candradeva lived for six months in the palace of Nila and was initiated into the mysteries of rites or ceremonies prescribed by Nila. In Caitra, when the emigrant population of 'Kasmira' came back, he related the whole incident to Virodaya-king of Manavas. The lengthy dialogue held between Nila and Candradeva describes sixty five rites, ceremonies and festivals many of which are similar to those mentioned in other Puranic works and observed in many parts of India, while a few are peculiar to Kasmira only.

At Janamejaya's enquiry as to what Gonanda had asked after listening to the teachings, another dialogue between Gonanda and Brhadasva follows. Gonanda expresses his desire to know the names of the principal Nagas dwelling in Kasmira and Brahadasva enumera-

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tes not fewer than six hundred Nagas He expresses his inability to enumerate all the Nagas, as their number was too great. He further refers to four Nagas, the guardians of directions and relates the story of the Naga Sadangula and the Naga Mahapadma.

Then follows Gonanda's enquiry about the sacred places of Kasmira and Brhadasva's reply referring to various places dedicated to Siva and other deities. Two names Bhutesvara and Kapatesvara raise Gonanda's curiosity which leads Brhadasva to relate Bhutesvara Mahatmya and Kapatesvara Mahatmya. Then follows the enumeration of the sacred places of Visnu and other tirthas situated in the valley of Kasmira. Thereafter is given the eulogy of the river Vitasta and the work ends with the remark that, as this treatise in the form of a dialogue between Janamejaya and Vaisampayana was not useful every where (i. e. was of local interest mainly), Vyasa did not include it in the Maha Bharata lest that should become too exhaustive.

Birth of 'Kasmira.'

The Nilamata legend of the origin of 'Kasmira' as a result of the draining off of the lake, occurs in Kalhana's Rajatarangini, and in a bit changed form, in the Mahavamsa, the Chinese Vinaya of the Mula Sarvastivadin sect and in the account of the travels of Hiuen Tsang. Whether it was the basin-like shape of the valley of 'Kasmira' which suggested this legend or the memory of some old age when the area of Kasmira under water was more than what it is now, was responsible for it, cannot be stated with certainty; but it is interesting to know that the geological observations made in recent times corroborate the assertion made in the Nilamata.

The lowest point in the valley with high mountain walls on all sides is 5200 feet high above the sea level, and the lowest pass in the Pirpancal range, forming its outer boundary, is 3000 feet above the valley. The only outlet for the drainage of the valley is the narrow rock-gorge at Baramula.

Now nearly half of the area of this basin-shaped valley is occupied by the Karewas (Flat-topped mounds composed of clay and silt with thin layers of greenish sand) and the present view to quote D. N. Wadia regards "the Karewas as the surviving remnants of deposits of a lake or series of lakes which once filled the whole valley basin

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from end to end". Of course it will be going too far to suggest that some geological tests were at the basis of this legend. The most plausible hypothesis is that the idea of the great lake was suggested by the basin-like shape of the valley and after this, it was just one step more in the making of mythology to attribute the drainage of water through an outlet in sandstone wall of the western corner of the basin, to a divinity like Ananta.

Geography :

Like other puranic works, the Nilamata also deals with geography of the world and mentions seven Dvipas, namely Jambu, Saka, Kusa Kraunca, Salmali, Gomeda and Puskara. Of these seven, Jambudvipa has nine Varsas namely Uttarakuru, Ramya, Hairanvata Badrasva, Ketumala, Ilavrta, Harivarsa, Kimpursa and the last one i. e. Bharataversa alone seems to present India proper. More significant is the information about the tirthas particularly of Kasmira, mentioned in in four lists occurring in the later half of the work. These lists are of special interest for the geography of Kasmira but it also deserves to be noted that the reference being too brief it is not possible to identify most of the place-names, especially those which are not mentioned in Kalhana's Rajatarangini or some other work of geographical value. It is also interesting to note the similarity of the nomenclature of Kasmira as found in the Nilamata with that of other parts of India, It seems that the people who had come from various parts of India to inhabit the valley of Kashmira named its beautiful spots after the tirthas familiar to them. they thus recognized prayaga the holy confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna in the confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindhu and regarded the area extending from Trikotisangama to Har and from the cofluence of the Pavana and the Rajobinduvinimala to Ciramocana, as holy as Varanasi. The names like Sarasvati Rsikulya, Ramahrada, Bhrgutunga, Mundaprastha, Citrakuta, Bharatagiri Kamatirtha of Kasmira are also names of various tirthas of other parts of India.

Tribes.

About the inhabitants of ancient Kashmira, the Nilmata has preserved highly valuable information. The original inhabitants of the valley were the Nagas; then came the Pisacas and the Manavas.

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Being the original occupants of Kasmira, the Nagas did not like the introduction of the Pisacas or the Manavas into the valley, but when the selection was to be made between these two, they preferred the Manavas to the Pisacas. The other tribes which are described as occupying the neighbouring countries are the Madras (inhabitants of the modern Sialkot and the surrounding regions between the Iravati and the Chandrabhaga) the Darvas (inhabitants of Darva identified with the districts of Jammu and Ballavar) the Abhisaras (inhabitants of modern Punch and the area near it) the Gandharas (inhabitants of Peshawar, Rawalpindi etc.) Juhundaras probably same as Jagudas (inhabitants of Afganistan), the Sakas, the Khasas, the Tarigams, the Mandavas, the Antargiris and the Bahirgiris. Indirect mention of the Yavanas is also made in the Naga name Yavanapriya.

Social, Political and Economic Life.

Regarding social, economic and political life in Kashmira the Nilamata has brought to light a few interesting points. The Brahamanas, especially those who were "Itihasavidah" and "Kalavidah" were highly honoured, but the Sudras too were not considered degraded. The humane treatment meted out to the servants is a pleasant feature of social organisation of Kashmira revealed by the Nilamata. The Nilamata often includes the servants also in the list of the persons in whose company the house-holder feasts and enjoys. The artisans like weavers and carpenters etc. commanded so much respect in the society as to exchange gifts with the higher varnas during the Mahimana celebrations. The very fact that the Nilamata describes the Sudras as taking part in the coronation ceremony of the king indicates that they were not considered debased.

Another enlivening feature of the Kashmiri social life as seen in the Nilamata is the position of women. Nowhere is she considered "the living torch illuminating the way to hell", or the devourer of the intellect of men. There is no reference to any veil worn by her and she moves quite freely in the society emulating as it were the free moving sparkling waters of the springs of the country. In the moon-lit night of Kaumudi Mahotsava we find her sitting beside the sacred fire in the company of her husband, children, servants and husband's friends, although it is not clear as to whether she is merely a silent spectator or she takes active part in the musical and dramatic performances given during this night. She is present in the

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common feast which takes place on the next day. Not only in the festivals celebrated at home, but also in the outdoor festivals, she is seen enjoying herself. The peasant's wife is lucky enough to participate in the joyous festival celebrated in the refreshing open fields of nature in connection with the ploughing of the fields and sowing of seed. The Nilamata does not deny water-sports to the ladies of Kasmira. The young maidens, it says, "should specially play in the waters" during the celebrations of Sravani festival. Playing with men folk is allowed to women. "The joyful ladies", it says "dressed in their best attire, perfumed with scents and decorated with ornaments should sport in the company of men on the last day of Mahimana celebrations." The ladies of the home are honoured on various occasions. On the full moon day of Margasirasa, the gift of a pair of red clothes is prescribed for a Brahmana lady, for the sister, for the paternal aunt and for the friend's wife. The mention of the presentation of gifts to friend's wife is quite significant as it could have been possible only in a free atmosphere where women were allowed to move freely with no restrictions on their receipt of gifts from their husband's friends.

As regards their place in the religious life, they are not only allowed to accompany their husbands in the performance of various rites and ceremonies but are also enjoined upon to perform singly some rites specially prescribed for them. The predominance of the Goddesses in the religion depicted in the Nilamata is another factor pointtng to the high status of women. The very land of 'Kasmira' is a mother Goddess 'Kasmira', a form of Uma. Numerous references are made to courtesans in connection with the description of festivals. The use of a simile comparing 'Kasmira' with a temple due to the presence of tender ladies indicates the populariiy of the institution of Devadasis or temple-dancers.

On the whole, the Nilamata offers a pleasant picture of women of 'Kasmira'. As a daughter she was trained in fine arts and was allowed to move freely in the society. By giving her in marriage, the father obtained religious merits. As a wife she was loved and honoured by her husband and as a mother she shone with her sons who revered her highly. A would be mother could even be installed on the throne on the demise of her son-less husband-king.

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This unconventional account of the women of 'Kasmira' is quite different from the account available in other Puranas and so it gives a distinctive character of the Nilamata.

Entertaining of guests is another notable feature of the social life of Kasmira depicted in the Nilamata. Even the king is enjoined upon to honour the immigrants from all thc quarters.

The people were fond of music, dancing, drama and other means of recreations, which indicates their general prosperity depending upon agriculture and trade. The general terms used for the musical instruments are Vadya, Vaditra and Vadyabhanda. We find reference to Vina (the modern hundred stringed Santoor of 'Kasmira' is probably satatantrivina or Vana referred to in the Taittriya Samhita), Venu (flute) Sankha (conch), Pataha (Drum) and Muraja (tambourine). Dances were performed on religious occasions and in social gatherings held in honour of seasonal and agricultural festivals. The words "Preksa" mentioned in the Nilamata refers to the *trical* performances. The Nilamata mentions also a peculiar phrase "Preksadana" literally meaning "the gift of a dramatic performance". It seems to have denoted "a gift made for the arrangement of a dramatic show". There may have existed some dramatic clubs which gave such shows on demand and the injunction of "Yathavidhi preksadana" i. e. the gift for the arrangement of a dramatic show made in the proper procedure, may have been made with reference to them.

As regards the art of image-making, the Nilamata refers to images made of stone, clay, gold, silver, copper, brass, wood, sand, straw and ghee. References are madc to printings on the cloth, the wall and the ground. The people are directed to decorate the Caityas with beautiful paints on lord Buddha's birthday. A circular pattern is drawn on the ground on which a 'Kashmira' bridegroom had to stand before entering for his marriage the house of the bride. This is a direct descendant of bhumisodha mentioned in the Nilamata.

Of the items of dress, mention may be made of pravarana which seems to be the same as pravara mentioned in the Mahabhara-.

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rata as a cloth offering protection against cold. Kashmiri pheran is most probably derived from pravarana.

Meat seems to have been a popular item of diet otherwise there would have been no necessity of prohibiting strongly the eating of meat for five days dedicated to the worship of Visnu. Wine is recommended as a drink on new snow-fall day and Iraman Jari Pujana.

In the sphere of political thought, there existed a belief in the divinity of kingship along with the theory that law is superior to the king. It is stated in a verse that the king of 'Kasmira' is a part of Hara and should not be disobeyed. The same verse is quoted by Kalhana with the significant expression "even a wicked one" added to the king. Compared with Bhisma's statement in the Mahabharata that a virtuous king is truly a god, this difference of statement of the Rajatarangini from that of the Nilamata shows a gradual development of the theory of absolute monarchy. The survival of a few republican elements is also indicated by the terms pradhana and ganamukhya.

Concerning religious life it shows not only the other cults adopting the Naga deities but also the Naga cult bringing the deities of other cults into its fold. Bhava Mahadva and Sambhu which are names of Siva, Guha and Kumara which are names of Siva's son, Narayana and the four yuhas Vasudeva, Sankarsana, Anirudha and Pradyumna, the epic heroes Rama, Lakshmana and Yudhisthira all appear in the Naga list of the Nilamata. On the whole the Nilamata reveals the spirit of compromise and synthesis in the field of religion. The Brahmanic deities, the Nagas, the pisacas, the Buddha all receive their due share of worship from the inhabitants of 'Kasmira'. The followers of cults are stated to be free to worship their respective deities but the different deities are described as honouring one another and thus creating an atmospheric in which various cults are united.

In the field of philosophical thinking the Nilamata presents the same theistic samkhya which appears in the epics and other Puranas. It would be going too far to suggest that it contains the tenets of the Moniastic Saiva philosophy of 'Kasmira'. It is clear that the cult of Visnu, Brahman, Siva, Surya, Durga, Nagas, Buddha etc. flourished side by side in the time of the Nilamata. Vaisnavism no doubt occu-

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pies a prominent place in this work but there is no indication of antagonistic attitude towards other cults. In the field of philosophical thoughts the Nilamata presents also a compromise regarding the problem of creation; it uses the terminology of the Samkhya referring to Indriyas, Indriyarthas, Mahabhutas Manas, Buddhi, Atma, Avyakta and Purusa; but it does not accept its atheistic metaphysics. The five gross physical elements—Earth, Water, Fire, Wind and Ether—which may stand for the solid, liquid, gaseous, aerial and ethereal states of matter, are stated to be the supporters of the world, but behind these is seen the working of the force of the Supreme Spirit. The epithet "Cause of the causes of the world" applied to Visnu and Brahma indicates that along with the Supreme Spirit, the final cause, there is also Prakriti, the immediate cause of the world. At one place, Shiva's epithet "Saksivat sthitah" sounds like that Sankhya Purusa but unlike the latter He is regarded as the creator, the sustainer and the destroyer of the world. Three qualities of Rajas, Sattva and Tamas are also referred to and are associated with the power of creation, protection and destruction.

The theology of the Nilamata is replete with numerous gods and goddesses. The trinity of Brahma, Visnu and Siva plays due role but there are others like Indra, Varuna, Yama, Karttikeya, Baladeva; Asvina, Maruts, Visvedevas, Vasus, Yaksas, Nagas, Gandharvas, Prthivi, Surabhi, Sita, Saci, Laksmi, Uma, Syama, Bharati, Prajna, Mati etc. The tendency of describing one deity as the highest among others at one time and transferring the same epithet to the other at another time is clearly perceptible in the praises of Brahma, Visnu, Siva, Nila and the goddesses Uma and Laksmi. At some places, Visnu is praised as the best amongst the gods, unfathomable, the highest, the eternal, the refuge of all gods, the lord of the gods, cause of the causes of the world, the lord of three worlds, worshipped by Siva, praised by Brahma, but at other places Brahma is described as the cause of the causes of the world, the lord of three worlds, the lord of the god of the gods, the lord of all, the omniscient, the real force behind all the elements, the preceptor of the world and the sustainer of the world. Siva is also eulogised as the preceptor of the world, the lord of world, the lord of the gods, the lord of the god of the gods, and the highest lord,

Even the Nagas deity Nila is described as the lord of the gods,

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the creator of the creator, illuminating Brahma. Uma is the mother of all gods, higher than Sarva, and Laksmi is raised to the highest position by saying that all the goddesses are her forms.

The idea that the whole world is God or a manifestation of God is also present in the Nilamata. The whole earth is a form of the goddess Sati. The earth, the water, the air, the sky, the fire, the sun, the moon, and the sacrificer, all these are regarded as eight forms of Siva.

The doctrine of monism, according to which there exists only a single principle from which everything is evolved, is also found in the Nilamata. Brahma in the Nilamata seems to have been identified with the Brahma of the Upanisadas, for He is recognized as the only element in the universe except whom there exists nothing. He is the knower and the thing to be known, the body and the soul, the meditator, the object of meditation and the meditation itself. He is also of unknown birth. In the eulogy of Nila there is a reference to Brahma in the Upanisadic style. This Brahma is indivisible, imperishable and the highest. Due to its minuteness it is called Ether. The statement that it is minute as well as great, uncreated as well as possessed of limbs reminds one of similar statements found in the Katha and the Svetasvatara Upanisads. Of course, the Nilamata does not give us clear-cut monism; it has just paved the way for the Monistic Saiva Philosophy of Kasmira.

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Shaivism & Kashmir's Doctrine of 'Recognition' (Pratyabhijna)

BY DR. R. K. KAW

I

Kashmir Shaivism & Its Three Divisions :—

Kashmir Shaivism, on the whole, represents a particular religio-philosophical school of the valley. There are three main divisions of the school corresponding to the division of its literature into three Shastras : (1) the *Agama Shastra*, (2) the *Spanda Shastra* and (3) the *Pratyabhijna Shastra*. No. (1) *Agama Shastra* is believed to be of divine origin. To this class chiefly belong the following works :- *Malini Vijya or Vijayottara, Svacchanda Tantram, Vijnana Bhairava, Ananda Bhairava* (lost), *Mrgendra, Matahga, Netra, Naishvasa, Svayambhuva, Rudra-yamala, Vidyarnava*, etc. *Shiva-sutras* which were revealed later by the sage Vasugupta are said to be the most important part of the Agama Shastra. The next two divisions of the Shaiva Shastra emerged as a result of development of human thought concerning the main Shastra of divine origin (Agama Shastra). The line of thought was developed by two *acharyas* Bhatta Kallata (9th century) and Somananda, contemporary of Vasugupta (850-900 A. D.), in two different directions. While Kallata handed down the doctrine as a system of religion, Somananda supplied the logical reasoning in their support and thus founded a system of Advaita philosophy of the Shaivas on the basis of what was at first taught as a system of faith. Thus there appeared the other two Shastras, (2) *Spanda-shastra* founded by Kallata and (3) *Pratyabhijna-shastra* commenced by Somananda. The three Shastras, all together, are generally known as *Trika Shastra* (a shastra comprising three classes). It is rightly observed that, out of these three, *Pratyabhijna* only is the 'philosophy proper of the *Trika*'. There has been a controversy among scholars regarding the name of the philosophical system of Shaiva Shastra. They think that all these names *Trika, Spanda* and *Pratyabhijna* are the designations of one and the same system. These scholars seem not only to have not observed the distinction

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between these different systems, but have failed to notice that Pratyabhijana system only is the philosophical school of the Kashmir Shaivas. The special literature that developed around the two schools Spanda and Pratyabhijna is given in brief as follows :—'Spanda Karika' and its 'Vrtti' by Kallata, Vivrti by Ramakantha, Pradipika by Utpala, 'Spanda-Sandoha' by Kshemaraja and 'Spanda-Nirnaya' also by Ksemaraja are the main works of Spanda school. 'Shivadrashti' by Somanands, 'Ish. Pratyabhijna Karika' with 'Vrtti' (gloss) and 'Siddhitrayi' by Utpaladeva, 'Pratyabhijna-Vimarshini' (in two volumes), 'Pratyabhijna-Vivrti-vimarshini' (in three volumes) and 'Paramarthasara' by Abhinavagupta, 'Pratyabhijna-hrdayam' with commentary by Kshemaraja and 'Bhaskari', a Commentary on Pratyabhijna Vimarshini', in two volumes, by Bhaskaracharya, comprise mainly the Pratyabhijna Shastra. All these works are published in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (*KSTS*), except Bhaskari, Vols. 1 and 2 which are published as Nos. 82 and 83 of 'The Princess of Wales Sarasvati' Bhavana Texts, Allahabad, 1938, 1950'.

Distinctive Features & Contents of Trika Shastra (in brief) :—

Shaivism comprehends all those systems of thought which evolved from Shaivagamas and Shaiva Tantras. A Shaiva system means any system based on Shaiva Tantras or Agamas. Sixty-four systems of the Shaiva cult are mentioned in the Shaiva scriptures of Kashmir which include the *Trika* as one of them. As said above, Trika is a triad, a group of three divisions of Kashmir Shaivism, Agama, Spanda and Pratyabhijna. These three Shastras can broadly be divided into two systems only, a system of religion or particular faith of Shaivas, which can significantly be distinguished as Shaivism, and a system of philosophical thought grown in Kashmir among the followers of Shaivism or Shaiva cult, which is rightly known as Pratyabhijna Philosophy. It was Pandit Madhusudan Koul the learned editor of *KSTS*, who for the first time pointed out in his Preface to *Ish.* Partyabhijna Vimarshini, Vol. I, that 'Pratyabhijna is the philosophy proper of the Trika system. The philosophical content of the Trika is first presented as Pratyabhijna system by Madhavacharya in his *Sarvadarshana-samgraha* (14th Century) on the basis of the title of

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the main treatise of the system, Pratyabhijna Karika by Utpaladeva. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan also includes 'the Pratyabhijna system' as one of the philosophical systems in his Indian Philosophy, Vol. II, for the apparent reason.

The Kashmir Shaivism as a whole, including the faith and philosophy of the school, is presented in Trika Shastra. It is so called (Trika) as, according to Paratrimshika, it deals with the triple principle, Shiva, Shakti and Anu; or Pati, Pasha and Pashu; or Nara, Shakti and Shiva; or Para, Apara and Parapara. It is called Trika for the reason that its chief authority is the triad consisting of three chief Agamas, Siddha, Namaka and Malini (*Tantraloka* I, 36), or for another reason that it includes all the three systems, *Bheda* (dualism), *Abheda* (non-dualism) and *Bhedabheda* (dualism-cum-non-dualism). It is also called Trika for the reason that it teaches the threefold method of Agamic realization, viz. Shambhavopaya, Shaktopaya and Anavopaya. It has also been already stated that Trika is a triad consisting of Agama, Spanda and Pratyabhijna schools of Kashmir Shaivas. The terms referred to in this para, which are derived from Agamas, cannot be explained in this short article. (See, K. C. Pandey, *Abhinavagupta An Historical & Philosophical Study*, 170 ff. and J. C. Chatterji, *Kashmir Shaivism*, 1 fn 2.)

Agama Shastra:—

Generally speaking, Agama-Shastra is mostly Sadhana-Shastra; i. e., it mainly deals with ritualistic and mystic practices. Usually, every Agama consists of four sections or Kandas (1) Vidya or Jnana Kanda (Section dealing with secret knowledge), (2) Yoga Kanda (Section dealing with Yoga discipline, processes of concentration and breathing exercises-pranayama), (3) Kriya Kanda (Section dealing with action, viz, ritualistic performances) and (4) Carya Kanda (Section pertaining to forms of worship). The works belonging to Agama Shastra of Kashmir, mentioned above, include in their dogmatic contents certain philosophical speculations also. Some of them are mostly devotional. Some of them give the rudiments of Kashmir Shaivism and teach certain methods, mystical practices (upayas) for achieving lower and higher Siddhis (occult powers) and the glories of liberated life. These methods prescribed in various Shaivagamas are called Shambhavopaya, Shaktopaya and Anavopaya. And Agama

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Shastra of Trika generally gives an exposition of these three methods or ways (upayas) of realization.

The *Shiva-sutras* are believed to be a *Rahasyagama-shastra-samgraha* (a compilation of secret Agama Shastra) being a work of Shiva Himself. They, therefore, form the most important part of the Agama Shastra to which is attributed divine authorship. According to tradition, recorded by Kshemaraja, the sutras were found, by the sage Vasugupta, inscribed on a rock at the foot of Mahadeva mountain, about 12 miles from Srinagar. It is said that Shrikantha, an incarnation of Shiva, wishing to do a favour to suffering humanity by the revelation of the traditional sacred lore which unfolds the three means of emancipation, appeared once before Vasugupta in a dream and told him about these sutras engraved under a big stone and also the way to reveal them. The sutras were thus revealed to Vasugupta who copied them to teach to his disciples. The Sutras are divided in three sections, dealing with the three means of liberation, Shambhava, Shakta and Anava. Guru Vasugupta taught them to Kallata and others. Kallata taught them to Kshemaraja who added a commentary, called Vimarshini, to the sutras.

The very first sutra emphatically declares that man's consciousness in its essential nature, is Atman (*Caitanyam atma*) and the Atman itself is Shiva, the great Lord. Maheshvara (*atmaiva shivah*). Apart from a few highly philosophical declarations made in the Shiva-sutras as a protest against the nihilistic doctrines of certain schools of Buddhism and against the doctrine of dualism (bheda) taught by some schools, they constitute a practical treatise devoted to the unfoldment of the three ways of liberation (upayas), mentioned above, (*upaya-prakashanam*). They also give the rudiments of Kashmir Shaivism, such as *malas* (impurities) and *pasas* (fetters), characteristics of various types of perceivers, transmigratory subjects, *Pati* (free-soul) and *Pasu* (soul under bondage), different state of common perceivers and extraordinary states (*turya*, the fourth state and *turyatita*, beyond the fourth state) as experienced by the Yogis, and so on.

Spanda-Shastra :—

The original text belonging to this Shastra (*Spanda-karika*) and the literature that subsequently developed on it, have already been mentioned above. The Karikas seem to be the work of Kallata. The

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Spanda-shastra lays down the main principles, as enumerated in the Shiva-sturas, in a greater detail and in a more amplified form, without giving philosophical reasonings in their support. In fact, the Spanda system owes its origin to the Shiva Sutras and concerns itself with their elucidation and popularisation. The author describes Spanda as that power of consciousness which infuses life into the physical senses. An object when sensed has no basis apart from consciousness. Spanda Karikas (verses) are 51 in number in which the fundamental principles of Shavism, as aphoristically given in the Shiva Sutras, are epitomised. The basic idea underlying the Spanda-Shastra is that Shiva's Spanda (energy) out of its own nature manifests on the background of its own pure self the whole universe comprising the thirty-six *tattvas* (principles or categories of objective reality) from the earth upto Parama Shiva. According to this doctrine, the world is a play of energy, force or vibration, which appears to be in confirmity with the modern science. It is not an illusion, the result of error in perception (*avidya*) as the Vedantins suppose. Their doctrine that '*vishva yan-na tad eva brahma*' (what is not the world, that is Brahman) is rejected by the Spanda school.

Pratyabhijna Shastra :—

It is not necessary to give glimpses of Pratybhijna Shastra here, as it is separately dealt with in datail in the Part II of this paper, which is exclusively concerned with this philosophical school of Kashmir. Here it will be remarked that metapysical reasoning (*tarka*) is the essence of a philosophical system. It is this philosophical content of the system that Utpaladeva presents in a bold relief, and in a systematic order, relegating the religious dogmatism of the school to a subordinate position, having devoted only a few sutras of his work (in Agamadhikara) to the latter aspect of the school. Pratyabhijna has been admitted to be a *taraka* shastra (a system of logic and philosophy).

Tantraloka - a Compendium of Trika Shastra :—

Tantraloka, by Abhinavagupta, includes the contents of all the three branches of Kashmir Shaivism (Trika-Shastra), viz. Agama, Spanda and Pratyabhijna, in a summarised form. The *Tantraloka* is a most

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voluminous work of Abhinavagupta, composed in verse, and forms an encyclopaedia of the Trika Shastra. The *Tantra-sara*, by the same author, is just a brief summary of the *Tantraloka*, written in easy prose. It is an excellent introduction to Tantraloka. The first Ahnika (Chapter) of *Tantraloka* is chiefly philosophical. It opens with an explanation of the first two Shiva-sutras and defines the key-word *'Caitanvam'*. This *Caitanyam* is emphatically declared to be the *Ātmān*, 'the one nuclear core in every personality, the one central point of reference in each and every experience, the deepest depth of the subconscious in each vividly conscious personal ego'. The same chapter of the work gives also the definitions and explanations of various other terms. The next four chapters of the work deal, in detail, with the same three *upayas* (methods or ways of realization) which constitute the three sections of the Shiva-sutras. According to Abhinavagupta, the three means or methods described are those of *Abhēda* (non-dualism), *Bhedabheda* (dualism-cum-non-dualism) and *bheda* (dualism) respectively. The Pratyabhijna is said to be another way of realization, a way af mere knowledge (awareness) and reasoning (tarka), denominated by him as 'Anupaya-marga' viz., requiring no practical performance of any kind, ritualistic, mystic or yogic, or even devotion and worship of any sort. Abhinavagupta says, this last method (Anupaya-marga) is the highest of all the methods, called also Anuttara, i. e. above the first three methods (tato pi paramam jnanam upayadi-vivarjitam.......anuttaram ... ihocyate). Various philosophical topics like time, space, the nature and division of the thirty-six 'tattvas' (principles of creation), the principle of 'Maya' and its five offshoots, etc., are also dealt with in the different chapters of this work. The rest of the work deals with various ritual practices and forms of worship.

Philosophical nucleus of Trika-Shastra :—

Trika Shastra, comprising the said three divisions of Kashmir Shaivism, represents, in its philosophical context, a concept of positivism in a theistic outlook in contradistinction to the absolute monism of Vedanta. According to the school, Shiva, the Ultimate Reality, is the prolific cause and 'essence and identity'. (Self) of every thing. He abounds in bliss and consciousness (nirvrta-cit) and is endowed with sovereignty of will, omniscience and omnipotence (aniruddha-iccha-prasarah, prasarad-drkkriya sivah). He is everything and yet beyond

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everything, or He is both immanent (Vishvamayah) and transcendent (Vishvottirna). Time, form and space do not limit him, for He is above all mutation and change. 'Pashu' (a living being) being the fragment of the inter-related whole is no other than Shiva Himself, but is in a state of limitation and self-forgetfulness. Recognition of the state of Shivahood (divinity) restores the original state of absolute perfection to an individual (Pashu). This is his state of Moksha (liberation). The Pasu has taken on three impurities (Malas) which are responsible for obscuring the divine within him. When these three impurities get dissolved, he realizes the divine within him in its crystalline purity.

II

Pratyabhijna School and its Teachers:—

In fact, the religio-philosophical school of Kashmir Shaivism is very old. Though its inception or introduction in Kashmir is shrouded in mystery, it was prevalent there long before the time of Ashoka (273-232 B. C.). Eighth and ninth centuries of the Christian era seem to have witnessed a religious upheavel in Kashmir. This followed a philosophic renaissance in the valley. Kashmir was then a meeting ground of the various philosophical currents. It is from the concourse of the then prevailing thought - currents flowing from various schools of Buddhists, Vaidikas, the Shaivas and Shaktas, the Vaiyakaranas (Grammarians) the Samkhyas, the Naiyayikas, the Vedantins and the expounders of the Yoga system, that a monistic school of philosophy, distinctly known as Pratyabhijna Shastra emerged in the valley among the followers of Shaiva cult. The Kashmir Shaivas, the originators of the Pratyabhijna system, have incorporated in it most of the ideas from the said systems and have propounded their various doctrines in a technique of their own derived from the Shaivagamas, which distinguish the system from the other systems.

Somananda was indeed the founder of the Pratyabhijna School which takes its name from the 'Pratyabhijna karika' by Utpaladeva, the disciple of the former. The credit of being the founder of the school goes to Somananda, for the reason that it is he who, for the first time, briefly laid down the doctrines of the school in his work 'Shivadrshti'

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a treatise (prakarana) on Shaiva philosophy. Utpaladeva was in fact the systematiser of Somananda's thought. Like Shankaracharya, a commentator of Badarayana's School of Vedanta, Abhinavagupta (another luminary among the celebrities of Kashmir Shaivism) gets the credit of being the expounder of Pratyabhijna system. We are in possession of his two commentaries, one short namely 'Vimarshini' and the other long (Vivrti-vimarshini), on the 'Pratyabhijana Karika' of Utpaladeva. Somananda flourished in the later part of the ninth century A. D., Utpaladeva in the first part of the tenth century and Abhinavagupta in the last part of the tenth and the first part of the eleventh century.

Inception of Pratyabhijna Philosophy :—

Notwithstanding his devotion to the secret doctrine of monistic Shaivagamas handed down to him traditionally from his ancestors, Somananda revolted against the prevailing schools of thought, including certain sections of Shaivas themselves. He summarily criticised the various schools of Buddhism, the Jainism, the Samkhya, the Nyaya and Vaisheshika, the Vaiyakarana and the monistic Vedanta. It appears that Somananda was against the traditional ideas about the divinity, the meaning and purpose of life, the human activities and behaviours on earth, the real significance of 'moksha' (salvation or liberation) and the like. Somananda seems to have conceived of re-interpreting religio-philosophic thought in vogue in his day and laid the foundation of a new school in its pristine purity, eclectic in its essence and containing the noble truths and glorious spiritual and humanistic values of ancient Vedantic thought. This new school came later to be known as 'Pratyabhijna School' (the doctrine of Recognition) after the title of the main treatise on the system, composed by Somananda's disciple Utpaladeva. The doctrine propounded in this school is indeed a reform and revaluation or reappraisal of Indian religio-philosophical thought.

Brief Idea of Pratyabhijna Doctrine : —

The strict sense of the term 'Pratyabhijna' is recognition', but in the system, it comprehends the sense of awareness, consciousness, realization, 'knowledge in practice' or practical use of knowledge. Pratyabhijna school thinks that man is ignorant (unaware) of the very nature of one's own Self (Shiva-Atman), viz. his inner being, the profounder faculty

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within him, and its power of 'Iccha' (Will), 'Jnana' (Kowledge, Thougt) and 'Kriya' (Action), viz., man's abilities-with which he is endowed by Providence. The school believes that the powers (saktis) or abilities with which man is born in this world, comprise his supreme (divine) inheritence. It is only then, when he becomes aware of his divine inheritence, that he can make the best use of it in making his life successful and felicitous.

Pratyabhijna is, in its essence, a deep and systematic study of man as microcosm and the world he lives in as macrocosm. In it, there is a perfectly scientific analysis of all the human faculities, man's entire physical, mental and spiritual organisms and that of the One Objective Reality (Parama Shiva) into thirty-six primary realitives indispensab'e for the constitution of the universe and processes of creation, etc. The system being broad-based, tackles all the problems of human interest and lays great stress on the spiritual values of life. It is thus a school of 'Spiritual Pragmatism'.

Utpala, the second teacher of the system, tells us that the Pratyabhijna philosophy is revealed to him by the grace of the Lord (katham-cit asadhya maheshvarasya dasyam), and it is for the good of humanity (janasya upakaram icchan) that he expounds the doctrine. He says with emphasis that man should recognise himself, viz., be aware of his inner being (Self) and his deeper faculties of 'knowledge' and 'action' (drkkriyatmika Sakti), if he desires to make his life all prosperous and blissful (samasta sampat samavapti hetum tat pratyabhijnam upapadayami). Our profounder faculties remain hidden from us due to lack of knowlege or experience and owing to innate forgetfulness (moha) on our part. The Prityabhijna is directed to removing the veil of ignorance from us and turning our attention towards the deeper faculties within us. The teacher believes that the faculties of thought ond action comprise the very life of man (jnanam kriya hi bhutanam jivatam jivanam matam). In the real sense of the term, knowledge in that which is transformed into action, or practical use of which is made in one's life. Pratyabhijna says (hints) with emphasis that knowledge put into action or practice is really meaningful.

Supreme Inheritcnce of Man : –

Conception of the macrocosm in the Pratyabhijna system is based on a very deep study of the microcosm. The system believes that 'Maheshvara'. the Great Lord or Divine Father of all this creation, is

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endowed with 'Maheśvarya' or Svatantrya-Shakti' (Sovereignty of Thought and Action) with which he executes the acts of creation, etc. of this orderly world. This 'Svatantrya-Shakti' or creative power of the Lord is two-fold, comprising 'Prakasha' and 'Vimarsha', viz. power of manifestation and power of perception or concretisation, functioning respectively as Universal Consciousness (Psychical Power) and Universal Energy (Physical Power or Objective Reality), technically called 'Shiva' and 'Shakt'i. The former, i. e. Universal Consciousness assumes three forms: Power of Remembrance (Smrti-shakti), Power of Knowledge (Jnana-shakti) and Power of Differentiation (Apohana-shakti). The latter, i. e. Universal Energy functions as Power of Action (Kriya-Shakti) of the Lord. This is governed by three universal laws of Nature—the law of Division (Bhedabheda), the law of Perception (Mana-tat-phala meya), and the law of Causation (Karana karya). The Transcendental Lord (Vishvottirna) thus concretises or materialises Himself into this created world (becomes Vishvamaya, the cosmos) by evolving thirty-six 'Tattvas' or primary realities from the One Objective Reality, the primordial natural force principle or Prima Materia of all things. As the Lord is conceived to be endowed with Svatantrya-shakti, viz. Sovereignty of will and psychical and physical powers, to make Him potent to execute all creative activity which accounts for the emanation of macrocosm with ever-new creations of infinite sentient and insentient beings from His own Self or Being, so is every individual created being (as microcosm) endowed with its potential powers (faculties) of will, cognition and action, including psychical powers of remembrance, knowledge and differentiation (*Samrti-shakti, Jnana-shakti* and *Apohana-shakti)* and its physical powers (*Kriya-shakti*) as supreme inheritence from his Divine Father-*Maheshvara*-to make him potent to perform all creative activity in his life time. It is 'recognition' or awareness and right use of one's divine faculties (supreme inheritence) with which man is born in this world that make his life felicitous and blissuful (*evam atmanam estasya samyag jnana -kriye tatha, janan yathepsitan pashyan janati ca karati ca*). The fact is that the Self (being a spark of the divine) is the pivot of one's life and Self-recognition is the means of achieving one's all fortunes and success in life (*somasta-sampat samavapti-hetum ; janasya-ayatna siddhyartham*).

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Pratyabhijna Values (human & spiritual) :—

Pratyabhijna is one of the greatest humanistic movements of Kashmir, which might well be called the *'Philosophy of Humanism'*. It is a wonderful synthesis of nearly all earlier systems af India's philosophic thinking, and is completely free from 'negativism' and 'escapism' of certain schools of Vedantins and from the 'nihilism' of some Buddhist schools. It is most realistic in its attitude to life. It is a most dynamic system in which emphasis is laid on what is called *Svatantrya*, the complete autonomy of thought and action as the goal of life. It may also be called a school of *Spiritual Pragmatism*, because its doctrines have a practical bearing upon human interests, besides having its main direction to the spiritual elevation of humanity. Pratyabhijna lays emphasis on human values and cardinal virtues as are given, in brief, below ;—

Spiritual & Moral Values in Pratyabhijna :—

According to Pratyabhijna, human beings are by nature divine. They are the sparks of the divine, children of God. The whole mankind forms one family (*manavah bandhavah sarve*). It is by self discipline (culture) and clean moral life that man can unveil the divine qualities in his personality. Love of God in this school means love of human beings, of one's fellow-men. He who loves God, loves everybody and looks on all men as equals. Love of God is to be translated into service of one's fellow-men and into such acts as are conducive to the good and benefit of one and all. Gentleness, righteousness, sympathy, friendliness and honest dealings with one another are qualities or virtues necessary for good life. Pratyabhijna promotes the eternal values of peace and freedom and human dignity, beneficial to the common man in their application to life. These values are stated in terms like 'sarva-shivata' (which signifies that the personality of every human individual is divine or sacred), 'sarva-samata' (meaning that all men are born equal) 'sarva-svatantrya' (i.e. all men are born free) and so on. Thus the doctrine lays emphasis on 'liberty, equality and fraternity' which is the famous motto of the civilized world today. Above all, Pratyabhijna directs man to working for peace and tranquility of the world (Vishva-Shanti) and following that as truth which is conducive to the good and benefit of the whole humanity.

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Tantricism in Kashmir

—Acharya Dina Nath Shastri

Nature has lavishly endowed Kashmir with certain distinctive favours which hardly find a parallel in any alpine land of the world. Set in the womb of the Himalayas and gifted with beautiful and inspiring natural scenery, it emerged as a highly advanced seat of learning from very early times, taking its place along with the famous Universities of Taksasila and Nalanda, Ramparts of high mountains, and seclusion of the land helped her to preserve the life and condtions of early times which it is rather difficult to resusitate in regard to other such mountainous regions. To the poets like Bilhana and others it was 'Sardadesa', the land of goddess Sarda; and it was even believed that goddess Saraswati actually lived here and hence the Sardapitha was also known as Sripeetha for conferring Sarvajna degrees. Srichakra worship seems to have originated from this concept of the poets here regarding the characteristic learning of the land. It was only natural that the savants and *rshis* should indulge in exerises of the highest order of metaphysical speculation.

The cultural heritage of Kashmir is, therefore, very rich and derives its inspiration and strength both from her natural environs and the rich literature and literary traditions alike. Usually, the literature of a country reflects the unique and most distinctive characteristic of her people and sheds light on the varied aspects of the numerous subjects developed in the language of that area. Thus with the growth of Tantra-sastra that forms one of the important branches of the general sastras like Kavya, Natya, Vyakarana and Vedanta, scholars have put forth their divergent opinions regarding the genesis and growth of this sastra. All are, however, agreed on the point that the Vedas are the source of all these sastras and that Sabda-sastra ot Vyakarna (grammar) is their expression and basic source material.

Along with the growth of a number of religious sects, numerous treatises were written to expound the basic tenets of a particular religion. The Tantra-sastras also were composed to solve the knotty

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riddles and secret esoterieism of Dharma. There are many manuals of tantras on the diverse religious sects still extant, though some are no doubt lost to us. The date of composition of these manuals cannot be determined with any certainity. The internal evidence, however, reveals that these are anterior to the treatises on Indian philosophy and posterior to the Vedas. Some would, however, even attribute a much earlier date to tantras in comparison to the Vedas. It may safely be assumed that whatever was evolved in the form of religious literature seems to have been first developed in the form of Tantra - sastra. A few scholars would go even to the extent of saying that in view of the complexity of the issues and problems discussed therein, these hold a place alongside the Vedas. This is so because the essence of the *mantras* of the Tantra-sastra is not in any way inferior to those of the *mantras* or hymns found in the Vedas. Some of the religious principles of India are based upon the principles of Tantra-sastra and in the Tantric-base there occur glimpses of philosophic doctrines. Among the extensively ramified aspect of India's speculation 'the Tantras are characterised by a catholicity of outlook and are free from all personal, communal or race restrictions'. They assign a very important place to women in religion and account for the growth of the Sakta cult. Justice Sir John Woodruffe (whose pen-name is Arthur Avalon) was the first to point out the philosophical and practical value of the Tantras and how the worship of Shakti as World Mother gradually displaced Vedic ritualism.

Bengal, Assam, Gujarat and Kashmir were prominent centres of Tantric cult and theories. Even in Buddhism Vajrayina Saktha had its basis in Tantra sastra. The Tantric cult was current in Tibet and also in Kashmir. The Tantra is referred to in the works of acknowledged Vaisnava sastra; the Deve Bhagvata in the ninth skanda speaks of it as a Vedanta and Saivism got asecndaney over Buddhism. The experiences gained in the Sakta cult and Saivism find a clear exposition and menifestation in treatises on Tantras. Most of these are now lost. Nevertheless, the rituals bear a clear imprint of these tantric influences. This is amply justified by Nilamata-purana where certain rituals and sacrifices are prescribed for the people of the valley. *Khitsari amavasya* etc. are the case, in point. In fact, certain calamities in the post-Kushana period were attributed to the giving up

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of these practices and accepting Buddhist philosophy. The adherents of the Sakta and Saiva cult today are the direct descendants of the Tantric group of followers. With the decline of Buddhism, the Sakta cult came into prominence and even the Vajrayana branch of Buddhism found expression in Baudha-Tantra. It developed along with the Tantric cult which had already taken deep roots in the soil. This is supported by a study of Saivism itself, the rise of which is held by consensus to be the 6th century of the Christian era. The Baudha-tantra (Vajrayana branch of Buddhism) also flourished along with the Tantric principles in Kashmir. A study of the Saiva-sastra reveals that the Tantric literature that had developed much earlier in the 6th century was based upon the main principles of Isvaraduyavada. These principles have been explained at length in different forms in Saiva-sastra and have been rightly characterised as Trika-sastra. It took the name of Trika as it included the elements of Agama, Pratyabhijna & Spanda Sidhanta. Agama Sastra is included in the Tantra-shastra which implies the description and analysis of a particular sectarian sastra. Etymologically it has its roots in *tanu* with the termination : *tra* and gives the exposition of a particular religious cult or esoteric character of the rituals. Agama-sastra was in use much earlier than Tantra-sastra and the noblest principles stated therein have found expression in a masculine form through the mouth of Lord Siva, wh the Tantra-sastra confirms the expounded subject in the form of a male-female dialogne, viz. the *akhyanas* dialogue between Siva and Parvati. The Tantra sastra which concerns itself with the subject through Para-sakti is called Sakta-tantra and the same Para-sakti is known as Tripurasundari in Tantra-sastras. All that was regulated in the world in three different manifestations was called Tripura and the collective energy of Brahma, Visnu and Mahesh was known as Tripura or Sri Tripurasundari which is also variously known as Mahasaraswati, Mahalakshmi and Mahakali.

During the mediaeval period in Kashmir much stress was laid on Bhairava-yaga and Bhairava worship. These are closely related to Tantra sastra. But the texts dealing with them are now no longer available. Anandeswara, Mangalesvara, Hatkesvara, Purnaraja bhairava, Turska-raja bhairava, Visvaksina, Jayakasina and Mahakala—the eight Bhairavas etc. and their worship was Tantric in nature. Bhairavayamal Tantra, Anandabairava Tantra, Utsusma Bhairava and Hatkesvara Samhita etc. that are known to us through stray references only and could confirm the

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prevalence of the eight Bhairava cults are also not available. The Rudrayamal grantha that deals with the source of hymns and thousands of names of the various gods and goddesses is available only in a fragmentary form. A fragmented but defective edition of this book has been published from Calcutta and a few incomplete *Mss* are preserved in the archives of Nepal, Varanasi and Kashmir. Like other Pauranic *parvas* (festivals), the Kashmiri Pandits had a number of Tantric *parvas* too which are now not existing. These included Bhairavparva, *Matsybali*, Vastusupatibali, Margasirsabali etc. A study of the Rajatarangini reveals that other tantras were also prevalent in Kashmir but the Pandits did not hold them in high esteem. The main subject of these was मारण (To kill), मोहन (To hypnotize), उच्चाटन (To apply witch craft). The Satakapala Akhyana of Chakropala ofAkahara was Tantric in character.

The Tantric cult was in vogue in Kashmir before the spread of Buddhism, Savism and Vaisnavism. Its literature is now not procurable. There is no gainsaying the fact that even before the prevelence of the Vedic religion, the Tantra cult was a dominant creed and this explains the existence of Tantricism in the various activities of Vedic rituals. The sixth century saw the emergence of Siva philosophy which had its roots in the contemporary Tantric literature and Baudha Tantras. In course of time it led to the development of a refined and highly evolved Saiva-advaitavada. The main Tantras which fall under the group af Agamas are : Svachhanda Tantra, Malnivijaya, Netra Tantra, Vamakesvari, Rudrayamal and Vijnana Bhairava. The subject matter of these is closely related to the exposition of the Trika cult. Of these the Svachhanda Tantra, Malinitantra, Netra Tantra, Mrgendra Tantra, Vijnana bhairava, Vamakesvara tantra have been published by the Kashmir Research Deptt. Besides Tantraloka based on Advaita Saiva-sastra has also been published by the same department in 12 volumes. A brief description of the published tantras is given as follows. The unpublished Tantra literature preserved in the Kashmir Archives is : 1) Munimatamanimala (Vamadeva) 2) Subhagarcharatnam; 3) Agamakalpalata (Yadunath) 4)Siva-nrtya 5) Kaula Kantahala, 6) Sakti-Sangam, 7) Yoga-ratnavali (Nag-arjuna) 8) Saubhagya Ratnakara. In Svchhanda Tantra a clear exposition of Tantra-sastra is given in all its aspects of '*diksa*', 'asana' 'panchakrtya', 'panchamukhas' mandala rudra, bhuvana, nari, guru, disciple, mantra, sadadhvarnan etc. These are Agamika Tantra sastras which have been published in six volumes by the Kashmir Research

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Deptt. The contents of Agamika-tantra deal with Parmasivaswarupa Bhairava. Like Tantraloka, Svachhanda Sastra is an encyclopaedia of Saiva-sastra and is in itself a standard manual. Vidyarnava Tantra was written by Vidyaranymuni, the disciple of Pragalbhatacharya (the disciple of Vishnu sharma). Their tradition has come down to us from the Jagatguru Shankaracharya. Vidyarana Tantra was a composition of Vidyaranya. A description of Tripura or Triporasundari is given therein: the three main activities of creation etc. Parmasiva has been eulogized and this represents the energy of Brahama, Visnu and Rudra. These, as mentined above, are manifested in Mahasaraswati, Mahalakshmi and Mahakali. Thus in the form of a 'male-female', dialogue a very apt description is given of Siva-Sakti worship. Tripurasundari is not only the Sundari of three worlds but is also the sole directing force of the activities of the Trinity and of the five diffirent kinds of forces to the east, west, south and north and the higher regions in the form of Unmani, Bhogini, Kumbika, Kalika and Maha-Tripurasundari of the upper regions. The said 'grantha' is in the form of hymns in worship of Maha-Tripurasundari. It has too large sections dealing with h the numerous mantras अनुष्ठान etc. in praise of Maha-Tripurasundari, in Her twenty different forms.

The date of composition of Vidyarana Tantra is fixed at 1130 of Vikrama era corresponding to 1073 A. D. It is a huge compendium which draws freely from the following tantras, most of which are not available now : Agastya-Sainhita, Phetakarini Tantra, Dakshinmurti-kalpa Yogasasta, Vamekesvar, Sarda, Kalimata, Tantra-raja, Dakshinamurti Saimhita, Bhairavi Tantra, Sidha-Saraswata Tantra, Uttar Tantra, Kula-ranva, Pingalamata, Sivayamala, Brahayamala, Rudrayamala, Kula-prakasa Tantra, Narada Pancha-ratra, Yogini Tantra, Vayani Samhita, Aksa-sastra, Sarada-Tilaka, Nila Tantra, Srikrama Narayaneya, Brhat Narayaneya, Satatapa-samhita etc, regarded as an encyclopaedia of Tantra-sastra and its literature. It was once published by the Kashmir Durbar but is now completely out of print. The original copy of it was available in the private library of Maharaja Harisingh and the MSS Library of Jammu Rughnath mandir. I too had purchased a copy of it for the Research Library, Srinagar, under the kind patrogage of Shri P. N. Pushp.

Devi-Rahasya :—

This is also a huge *grantha* of a kind of specific Tantra-sastra. Along with it has been published Udharkosa, a *grantha* for *mantrodhara*, quite unique as a type. The first half includes 25 patalas (paragraphs)

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and has been composed in the form of *adhyayas* (chapters) dealing mainly with the *bhijamantras* of gods and goddesses, worship of the crematorium, *madya suddhi* (purification of wine) and *madyapana-vidhi*, (drinking method) *maesamskara* etc.. The other half known also as *Rahasyayiya*, contains 35 (*adhyayas*) chapters. The Panchangas mentioned therein are: Jawalamukhi, Sarika. Maharajna, Bala, Tripura, Lakshmi, Saraswati, Tara, Bhvaneswari, Matangi, Bheda and the *bijamantras* related to these goddesses and six other mantras of other goddesses. These are : Bhadrakali, Turi, Chhinamasta, Dakshina-murti, Syama, Kalaratri. All these goddesses are included in the pantheon of the Hindu goddesses. In the third section Varahi, Vajra-yogini. Kameshwari, Gauri, Annapurna, Sarada etc. are included along with basic *mantras* and *bjamantras*. The *mantras* of Ganesa, Vatuka Kumara, Mrtyunjaya, Kartaviryarjuna, Sugriva. Hanumana, and those of *navagrahas* are also included. Similarly, the basic mantras of Varnamala and the mantras of *navagrahas* as also those of Bhvani, Baguemukhi, Indrakshi, Khechari too find a place therein. The *dhyana-dharana* of these goddesses and *grahas* are also included. It appears to be a large section of Rudryamala Tantra. Udharkosa is in the form of a dialogue between Daushinamurti and his disciple Akshyaya. It is a publication of the Kashmir Research Deptt. (1941)

Brhat Nila Tantra :

It is so called because it supplies every information in connection with the worship of Nila Sarasvati. The eleventh chapter of the Tantra describes at length how the Goddess of Wisdom became Nila (blue).

The Tantra is written in the form of a dialogue in which Maha-kalabhairava appears as the speaker and Mahakali as the listener.

It contains twenty-four chapters. Contents of these are briefly mentioned in the first chapter. The Tantra is evidently later in composition than the Gandharva-Tantra to which it refers and the Durga-saptasati.

In this Tantra the Devi requests Bhairava to reveal the Nilatantra as promised at the time the Kalitantra was revealed. The Bhairava redeems the promise and declares that the Tantra which he is to reveal should be duly preserved and concealed, as that leads to many

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blessings. Firstly, he briefly mentions the important topics of the Tantra and then begins the description of Tara in all her forms together with the way in which She is to be worshipped.

The mantra of Nila Saraswati, consisting of five syllables, reads as ओं ह्लीं स्त्रीं तूं फट्. of this Vasistha is the sage, Vrhati the metre, Nila Saraswati the deity and the object acquisition of poetic power. Practitioner of the *mantra* is advised to perform the bathing etc. in the right manner according to both forms, vedic and tantric.

This chapter describes the *piya* or worship of the Nila Saraswati. It is to be done in out-of-the-way places, such as deserts, cremation-grounds, jungles, hills and hillocks. Worship of the deities: Ganesa, Kshetrapala, Yogini and Vatuka with मां क्षां यां वां comes at the beginning. While entering the altar Brahma and Vastupurusha receive their worship. Devi is to be meditated upon as occupying the seat of jewels at the foot of the desire-granting tree. Water required for worship is to be purified with the mantra of ओं व्रज्रोदके लूं फट् स्वाहा

Gandharvatantra :- It gives, with elaborate details, instructions in ritualistic worship purifications, mantras, yantras, mudras, asanas and the like. It also provides, in eleventh chapter, forms of meditations on Kundalini and prescribes Pranayama as almost the panacea of all ills. This Tantra is extremely rich and predominately Shakta in nature and philosophically of trika outlook.

Vijnana Bhairava Tantra :- This is commented on partly by Ksemaraja and partly by Shivopadhyaya. This is a text of the Tantra Shastra of Agamic nature being a conversation between Shiva as Bhairva and Shakti as Bhairvi. The theme of the text is explained by Shiva himself. Main typic of the text is 112 yoga dharamas; the forms of Dhyana are claborotely mentioned therein. It is based on the famous Rudrayamala Tantra.

Uddamareswara Tantra :- This Tantra is a book of magical formulas and practices and also prescribes a number of medicinal drugs.

Vamakeswari Mata Vivarana :- This is Agama Shastra. It deals with philosophical though as well as rituals, mainly the latter. It gives a clear explanation of Shakti as Tripura-Sundari, whose worship, in various forms, it prescribes.

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Malini Vijaya Tantra :- This work belongs to Agama Shastra and according to Abhinavagupta is the most important Agama treatise for trika system of Shaiva philosophy. It is a conversation between Shiva and Shakti.

Malini Vijaya Vartikam :- This is a running commentary of above work by Abhinavagupta and is written in simple Sanskrit in the Anuship meter.

Netra Tantra :- (with a conentary of Kshemaraja) is published in two volumes in a dialogue form between Shiva and Shakti. The conversation introduces a question from Shakti that all the eyes are full of water, how is that from Thine eye, Thou Divinelord, there sprang forth the great fire which burnt every thing ? The whole book is mainly an answer to this question.

Mrgendra Tantra :- It deals with an Agamic nature of Tantra. There is a dialogue between sage Aanta and his disciple. It is depicting to plurastic thought of Saiva School.

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Sanskrit Chronicles and Sultans of Kashmir

(A RESUME)

Professor K. N. Dhar

The history of Muslim period in Kashmir is as intriguing as it is revealing. Though a sizable number of chronicles, both indigenous and foreign, contemporary as well as remote, is available for this phase of Kashmir history, yet the conclusions arrived at and the facts enumerated are in no way immaculately objective. These historians, barring a few, have grafted their personal dimensions into these. Unfortunately for this epoch, the chroniclers have not been able to extricate themselves from co-coony meshes of personal likes and dislikes. Their subjective involvement has gone a long way in tarnishing the inherent image of this period in Kashmir history.

Moreover, modern scholars (*) have not also been able to provide a dispassionate account of this period in as much as their knowledge of Persian or Sanskrit, in which the chronicles of this period are couched is either scanty or next to nothing. They have usually depended upon the defective translations, more so in the case of Sanskrit chronicles, thereby mutilating the exact import of the events and also drawing wrong and misleading inferences. Even Dr. G. M. D. Sufi, author of the monumental work entitled "KASHEER" has suffered from this lapse. Therefore, the edge this particular period had over earlier periods of history, in terms of contemporary evidence, seems to have been blunted.

This period in Kashmir history only confirms the age-long truth that the transitional ferment rides rough shod over the society when

(*) Dr. R. K. Parmu : "Muslim Rule in Kashmir", Dr. Mohibul Hassan: "Kashmir under Sultans". Dr. M. L. Kapur: "A History of Muslim Period in Kashmir."

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it is turning a new leaf. Old norms and attitudes melt away before the effulgent enthusiasm of the new order. It can never be smooth-sailing on either side. In the Hindu period, as depicted by Kalhana, whenever a change in rule was necessitated by the force of circumstances, it was definitely attended with scourge and death for the values the earlier kings had nursed. Even the vestiges smacking of the old were done away with. The 'new' was enthroned only on the ashes of the 'old'! Therefore, it should not seem surprising or denigrating that the Muslim rulers got engaged in the crusade of annihilating the old and installing their way of life with unrelenting gusts and fervour. The Muslim monarchs were only respeating the course of history of the earlier periods in Kashmir. There were such emancipated kings like Pravarsena, Lalitaditya, Avantiverman etc, but the majority of the rulers could not rise above their narrow parochial loyalties. The same trend is discernible in the Muslim perid of Kashmir history and is therefore neither horrifying nor unnecessarily disheartening. When the dust of this tumult settled, the Muslim period also brought out of its womb benevolent kings like "Budshah" and Shahabuddin. Therefore, it does not seem justifiable or fair to dub this period as nihilistic or inconoclastic [2]. More recently when, in the wake of Indian Independence, the political map of our country was redrawn the Rajas and Nawabs being dubbed as the representatives of a dying order were compelled to join the national stream by persuasion, guile or force. [3] Their states underwent a transformation beyond recognition. This kind of friction between the old and the new is a natural phenomenon and the sparks coming out of this should not scare us into building a fallacious or deluding premise. History as such is a faithful representation coupled with detached interpretation of events. It is neither propaganda nor useless kite-flying for imposing own thinking on others.[4] It is also not a veritable substitute for regimentation or indoctrination. After going through the chronicles of

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2) Dr. Parmu : A HISTORY OF MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR, Pages 124 - 125.

3) CF. V. P. Menon: INTEGRATION OF STATES.

4) E. G. Dr. Sankah Khalia's : VIEWS on the MAHABHARTA, or Shri Oak's Observations about the Taj and other Mughal buildings.

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this period, it can be eas'ly conceded that the Muslim kings did not find any time to cool their heels and consequently engage themselves in ushering in a happy compromise between the dying old and the present coming to birth. The vulturous scramble for regal prowess was so intense that brother was after the blood of brother and son wove plots to overthrow his parent. In this pernicious climate of internecine feuds, the king was always expected to look around with fingers crossed, his maximum concern being his personal safety. Therefore, to exnect a fair deal for his subjects and society at large, is a misnomer here. They at best could only invoke Islamic Brotherhood to keep their authority in tact. As a corollary to this, they were also obliged to excite the religious propensities of their subjects-neo converts, of course—to make themselves secure on the throne. It was essentially a political strategy and had nothing to do with their actual approach to life. Whenever such mist of distrust and infedility cleared for a brief spell, the Muslim kings have rendered yeoman's service to their subject.

In this context, and fortunately for the posterity, the Sanskrit chroniclers have tried to keep themselves at arm's length from the emotional involvement—the bane of this period. They have striven hard to sit on the fence and relate the events in more or less a dispassionate manner. It goes definitely to their credit that they could maintain the balance between head and heart in those hectic days when the links with the past were being broken with venomous aclacrity. These hitorians had every reason to get derailed into the jigsaw of fallacies, in as much as they definitely were the chips of the old block which was being derided under their very nose. To speak squarely, these master-minds wore their profession on their sleeves.

Four Sanskrit luminaries have given an account of the Muslim rule in Kashmir, in succession. The first Jona Raja was followed by Shrivara, who took the thread from him when he (Jana Raja) was cut short by death and could not complete his assignment. The third was Prajya Bhatta whose original chronicle is lost but has been condensed by Shuka in the introductory portion of his Rajatarangini to make it a continuous whole. So this gap has been ably retrieved by the fourth chronicler Shuka, and the loss has been thus repaired.

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Jona Raja

Jona Raja at the very commencement of his Raja Tarangini acknowledges the debt he owes to Kalhana -the doyen of chroniclers of Kashmir. He treats him as his ideal and his reputed dictum in respect of history-writing as his guide-line for supplementing suitably the course of events, where Kalhana had left it. (5) Kalhana has very aptly remarked :—

> "That noble-minded (poet) is alone worthy of praise whose word like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past" (6)

Jona Raja has faithfully striven to live upto this maxim. There are some omissions and commissions here and there, (7) still this most illustrious Sanskrit historian of the Muslim period, being the first in the line, is also the best, by any standard whatsoever.

In those insecure times the safety of the chronicles was the prime concern. The fear of interpolations can also not be ruled out. Before we proceed to examine critically the narrative of Jona Raja, it will again be useful to allude to erroneous inferences of modern scholars on this subject. Dr. Parmu has remarked that "His (Jona Raja's) besetting defect is that he generally puts the poet above the chronicler"(8). Herein the learned scholar has innocently betrayed his ignorance regarding Sanskrit language and literature. Actually the reverse of it is true which is a compliment to Jona Raja. Kalhana's Raja Tarangini is classed under historical poetry in Sanskrit literature. No such honour has been bestowed upon Jona Raja's Raja Tarangini. It is at places versified prose, to borrow the epithet from Dr. Buhler (9). In this respect Dr. R. N. Singh has to say "Jona Raja after recording an event proceeds further; he even skips over the chain of events at the slightest possible hint. He does not stay behind to

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5) Jona Raja : Raja Tarangini, 5th verse.

6) Raja Tarangini-I, 7, Translation Dr. Stein-

7) Jona Raja has not referred to Syed Ali Hamdani or even to Lalleshwari, the mystic poetess.

8) A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir-page 5.

9) Kashmir Report.

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explain it, but transfers this burden to the reader" ([10]). Further on, the learned scholar has remarked, "The Raja Tarangini of Jona Raja is history. It is neither a biography nor an eulogy."

Without mincing words, Jona Raja admits that his chronicle is merely an "Outline history of Kings" ([12]). He does not make tall claims for elaborating the events or sitting on judgement on these. Moreover, he very candidly owns that he was commissioned to write his chronicle by King Zain-ul-abdin, through the good offices of Shirya Bhatta, the Head of Judiciary ([13]). Therefore, it may be contended that he being a professional chronicler and also in the pay of the sultan, his account might have tilted in favour of his benefactor. Dr. Mohibul Hassan does refer to this seemingly believable handicap by saying, "Being a courtier of Zain-ul-abdin, Jona Raja is inclined to exaggerate the virtues of his master and gloss over his failings." ([14]) On careful scrutiny of the account given by Jona Raja about Budshah (Zain-ul-abdin) and his father (Sikandar) it seems that he has safely steered clear of personal inclinations.

While describing the vandalism of Skiandar in razing temples and places of pilgrimage of Hindus to the ground, which would have alienated Jona Raja's sympathy for reasons obvious, he like a faithful reporter does pay tribute to the king's administrative acumen. ([15]) He does not spare his Sultan from chastisement when it is due. ([16]) He vehemently chides his co-religionists, the earlier Hindu Kings, for their lack of political foresight and also for being the slaves of lust. ([17])

All told, Jona Raja has given an account of twenty three rulers of Kashmir, out of which thirteen are Hindus, one a Bhautia [18] and

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10) Jona Raja-Raja Tarangini (Hindi) page 33. Translatino by the writer of this paper.
11) Ibid-page 35 (12) Verse 17 (13) Verse 11 (14) Kashmir under Sultans page 2.
15) Verses 567,568,569.
16) Verse 849
17) Verse. 27-128, condensing the reign of Hindu Kings from Jaya Simha to Suhadeva.
18) An inhabitant of Dardistan-Renchen.

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nine Muslims. This account covers a span of 459 years. He has been the contemporary of Sikandar and Zain-ul-abdin, by virtue of which his description about these two kings is not only lucid but also authentic. The general impression gleaned from the account of Hindu kings is that their hold on the reins of their kingdom was tottering under the irresistable weight of court intrigues, corruption, avarice, lust and sex. [19]. These failings were all the more besmeared with physical and moral cowardice. [20] Therefore, the occupation of Kashmir by Muslims was a natural culmination of this choas and confusion. Degeneration of the highest order had already permeated the soul of Hindu society and the astute Muslim struck when the iron was hot. Hindu rulers had to blame only themselves for this catastrophe. Their levity did not even allow them to lick their wounds. Cultural conquest of Hindus had already commenced when Islam entered the valley a century or more before Muslim rule [21] was installed here. Jona Raja treats the reign of these last Hindu kings in a very cursory and brief manner. He has disposed of some Hindu kings in four or five verses [22]. The brevity he has employed can be assessed by the fact that the description of thirteen Hindu Kings is dispensed within 174 verses out of a total of 976 verses comprising his chronicle. Jona Raja has himself adduced the reasons for his lack of sympathy for these kings, as alluded to earlier. The chief cause for this unconcern was that Jona Raja wanted to pick up the thread from where Kalhana had left it, only to induct continuity into his chronicle [23]. His main forte was Muslim Rule, for which alone he was responsib'e to King Zain-ul-abdin. [24]

Jona Raja has described the Muslim Rule at length and a span of 140 years is covered by him. He could not complete the assignment of the King as he was probably cut short in life before he could do so [25]. The last eleven years of Budshah's reign have however been commented upon by Shrivara -a professional heir to Jona Raja.

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19) Jona Raja-Raja Tarangni verses 68,74. 20) Ibid-Verses 89-93
21) Kasheer-Dr. Sufi.
22) Paramamnuk, Jassaka etc. 23) Verses 5-6. 24) Verse 7.
25) Abrupt closure of the account strengthens this belief.

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Jona Raja treats Shahmeer as the first Sultan of Kashmir. He ascended the throne of Kashmir under the name of Shamsud-Din and ruled for 3 years from 1339 to 1342. A. D. Prior to his snatching the throne by deceit and guile from Kota Rani, he was her chief adviser and also a paramour. After sharing the same bed for one night with Kota Rani, he got her murdered alongwith her sons. Thus the last symbol of Hindu Raj in Kashmir ended. Shahmeer was not an indigenous sultan, but came perhaps from Persia as a refugee. [26] Dr. Mohibul Hassan takes him to be a Turkish adventurer. [27] Even though Jona Raja prefixes the epithet Sultan with Renchan, the Buddist also and the implication from it may be that he has taken Renchan as the first non-Hindu ruler, yet it was a very brief interlude which was followed by the restoration of Hindu monarchy. The Muslim rule entrenched itself in Kashmir, without any break whatsoever, with the reign of Shahmeer. Hence he earns the right to be called the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

Jona Raja has not referred to the episode of "BULBUL SHAH", who according to Persian chroniclers converted Renchan to Islam. He only alludes to one Deva Swami who refused to admit Renchan into Hindu fold. [28] Furthermore, Jona Raja asserts that it was the manouering of Shahmeer which got Renchan initiated into Islam.

Jona Raja has given us a graphic description of three invasions on Kashmir prior to the establishment of Islamic rule here: one by Dulcha, the other by Renchan and the third by Achala. Dulcha, a Turk with a retinue of sixty thousand strong cavalary swooped on Kashmir "like a lion forcing its way into a deer den." [29]

King Kurushah, whom Jona Raja has taken as the grandfather of Shahmeer, tried to buy Dulcha off with a very good amount of money. Dulcha, whose sole intention was loot and carnage, did accept

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26) Qutub-ud-din Shirazi, the author of Tarjama-i-Iqlidas., calls him as "Muffakhari Iran" (The pride of Persia) in the preface of his treatise. Dr. Parmu, History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, page 86.

27) Kashmir under the Sultans-page 43. 28) Verse 193.

29) Verse 142

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the money, but stayed back to unleash his cruelty over Kashmiris.[30] Jona Raja has given a heart-rending description of the invasion of Dulcha :-

> "Those Kashmiri people who had eluded destruction, after the Dulcha-cat took to heels, came out of their holes like the mice. When the scourge let loose by Dulcha did abate (when he was sent away) no son could find his father, nor father his son, and brother his brother." [31]

The second invasion was that of Renchan Buddhist, who came down from northern mountains to loot and plunder Kashmir. Jona Raja has said in this connection :—

> "As a kite swoops on the birdling having dropped from its perch, in the same manner the invincible army of Renchan dispossessed of all belongings Kashmiris."[32]

Afterwards Renchan also occupied the throne of Kashmir in collaboration with Kota Rani.

The third invader, Achala was prevailed upon by Kota Rani not to unleash his sword on the innocent people. He was invited to adorn the throne which was lying vacant, as the king had fled to Ladakh. Achala was taken in and he disbanded his army. Once he did this, it was very easy to see him off. Consequently, when Shahmeer came to the throne, he had a stupendous task of rehabilitation awaiting him. He acquitted himself very well in this field and proved to be a very competent administrator [33]. In the words of Jona Raja "He changed the face of Kashmir."[34] The salient facts come to surface while describing the ascendency to power by Shahmeer. Jona Raja alludes to the oracle of the great Goddess wherein She predicted to him (Shahmeer), in a dream, that his progeny would rule Kashmir henceforth.[35] By putting this anecdote to pen Jona Raja

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30) Verse 144. 31) Verses 160-161. 32) Verse 157. 33) Verse 310. 34) Verse 310. 35) Verse 139.

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seems to have reconciled mentally to the change of power in Kashmir and also adduced Divine sanction for it. He has also called Shahmeer as "Kula Natha"[36], the chief of the Muslim population in Kashmir, which could put its counter-weight against the machinations of landed aristocrats, such as Damaras (Dhars), professional fighters like Lavyanyas (Lones) and also Bhatta (the entire Brahmin faction). Perhaps that was the reason why Kota Rani took him into her service and confidence. This very influence with his co-religionists facilitated him to grab power without a single leaf fluttering in the valley. His seige of Anderkot (near Sumbal) proved as the last nail in the coffin of Hindu authority over Kashmir.

Shahmeer did not live long to consolidate the ravaged Kashmir. He breathed his last on the full-moon day in Ashadha in 1342 A. D., after a brief reign of three years and five days.[37]

Jona Raja, for reasons obvious, has cursorily treated the reign of Sultan Jamsheed (1342-44) and that of Sultan Alla-ud-din (1344-56) sons and successors of Shahmeer. As he (Shahmeer) was an astute politician, he transferred the burden of the kingdom on those two sons jointly[38], so that they did not feel foul of each other afterwards. But the two brothers could not carry on with each other and the reign of Jamsheed, for two years, was only a tragic interlude of conspiracies and brotherly feuds. He was such a weakling that Jona Raja has aptly used the words "Being a king in name only, he actually suffered incessantly till he was relieved by death."[39] Herein we shall have to refer to the observation made by Dr. Sufi; he has come to the conclusion that, as soon as Jamsheed was crowned king, he was deposed by his brother Ali Sher (Alla-ud-din) and spent the two years before his death rather in exile and penury. [40] Dr. Parmu has written that Jamsheed was killed in 1344 [41] and Dr. Mohibul Hassan [42] has suggested that "Jamsheed finding himself not strong enough to fight (against his brother) fled and after aimlessly wandering about in

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36) Verse 225. 37) Verse 315. 38) Verse 314. 39) Verse 338.
40) 'Kasheer'-page 134. 41) History of Muslim rule in Kashmir-page 91
42) Kashmir under the Sultans-page 48.

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the valley for a year and two months died in 1345."

In this context the account given by Jona Raja does not confirm the views given by these learned authors [43]. He unambiguously records that Jamsheed put to sword so may followers of his conspiring brother Ali Sher at Avantipur, that "the current of the Jhelum began to flow upwards due to the heaps of corpses thrown into the river." He records further that Sultan Jamsheed made "Sathya Raja" (Shiraz) responsible for the safety of the city of Srinagar and himself went for a trip to Handwara. It has nowhere been suggested by him (Jona Raja) that the Sultan was forcibly deposed and also killed. In the words of Jona Raja he died a natural death after being a Sultan for two years less by two months.

Jona Raja does allude to Jamsheed's holding the charge of 'Commissioner of Guardas' [44] stationed at one of the mountain passes, leading to Kashmir Valley. Perhaps this very reference of his becoming the 'Commissioner of Guards' has led these learned authors to do a bit of unfounded kite-flying. Jona Raja explicitly lays down that Sultan Jamsheed got fed up with wars, when Ali Sher inflicted a decisive defeat on his son. Morever, Ali Sher broke the truce of two months cease-fire, offered initially by him.[45] All these factors prompted him to relinquish the royal authority voluntarily, and during the closing months of his life he did accept an assignment much below his status. Therefore, it is sufficiently clear that he was neither deposed nor killed.

Ali Sher, assuming the name of Alla-ud-din (1344-1356 A. D) ascended the throne of Kashmir by guile, deceit and statecraft. Despite these defects he was a master-mind in politics and a dauntless warrior.[46] Two great events of his reign have been narrated by Jona Raja. The first being a direct reference to a bevy of Yoginis[47] (females possessing magical powers), whose leader has been identified as 'Lalleshwari' [48].

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43) Verses 331-338. 44) The actual word being 'Dvar Pati' -the master of gate-Verse 339. 45) Verses 333-334. 46) Verse 342. 47) Verse 343.
48) Verse 368. Peer Hassan Khoyami: Tarikhi-Kashmir (Persian) page 17 and other Persian chroniclers.

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In Kashmiri tradition, Lalla is not credited with having found any order of 'Yoginis' at all. She lived by herself and also in her own thoughts. Therefore the use of the word 'Chakra' [49] does not confirm the views by Persian scholars. It might also cannote the host of eight Yoginis - attendants of Durga, Shiva's consort. Again, Kashmiri tradition makes Lalla-Arifa contemporary with Syed Ali Hamdani (Shah Hamdan), about whom Jona Raja is surprisingly reticent. It may be inferred here that Jona Raja did not mention the name of Shah Hamdan, as he was the sole instrument for transplanting Muslim faith in place of Hinduism in Kashmir. The crusade for mass conversion in Kashmir was initiated by him. Even if he (Jona Raja) would have liked to refer to Lalla, Shah Hamdan's mention would have been a natural corollary to it, as far as Kashmiri tradition goes. Therefore, he chose to skip over both these personalities in Kashmir history. The chief of 'Yoginis' (Nayika), narrated earlier, may be construed to be a female Tantric worshipper, otherwise she would not have offered a 'goblet of wine' to Alla-ud-din [50]. Subsequent Persian sholars have tried to replace 'wine' by 'milk'[51] as former is forbidden by Islam. But Jona Raja has no such aberrations. Here again, 'Lalla' is never associated with wine etc in Kashmiri tradition like the left-hand ritualists.[52] Therefore, to infer from 'Yogini' the existence of 'Lalla', in that period at least, according to testimony of Jona Raja, is not only far-fetched but also preposterous.

However, the silence of Jona Raja about Lalleshwari and Shah Hamdan should not erroneously lead us to believe that these two personages never existed in Kashmir and are only the figment of imagination. Kalhana has not at all referred to Abhinavagupta, the reputed Shaiva Scholar, though other such erudite scholars, like Udbhatta, Rudratta, Vaman and Anandavardhan have been mentioned profusely by him. Yet Abhinavagupta did live in Kashmir on the basis of the testimony of the colophons of his works, in which he has indicated the year of composition of a particular treatise. He has bequeathed

49) Verse 343.
50) Verse 348. 51) Peer Hassan Khoyami-Tarikhi-Kashmir page 154 Urdu Translation. 52) Left-hand ritual consists of taking meat, fish, wine, indulgence in sex and concentration. It is also termed as 'five Ms' as the initials of all these words (in Sanskrit) begin with म.

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to us his own genealogy [53] also. The force of tradition is always irresistible and cannot be dispensed with cheaply. What is actually meant to be conveyed here is that although Jona Raja's chronicle, as it is available to us, does not contain the names of Shah Hamdan and Lalleshwari, yet their having breathed the air of Kashmir cannot be doubted.

The second event of Alla-ud-din's reign is the terrible famine which shatterd the economy of the country ; but Jona Raja does not write that remedial measures were taken by the Sultan to offset its unsalutary effect on the people. Some scholars have wrongly quoted Jona Raja and ascribed this compliment to Sultan by him—"But he did all he could to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects" [54]. Actually Jona Raja dismisses this calamity in one verse [55]. He says, " In the nineteenth year of the local calendar (i. e. 1343 A. D) a ghastly famine tormented the people as a reproof for their bad deeds". Just after it he gives the date on which the Sultan breathed his last.

Again, another scholar has indicated that Sultan Alla-ud-Din transferred his capital from Anderkot to Alla-ud-din Pora, a new city founded by the Sultan.[56] The description given in this behalf by Jona Raja reveals that the Sultan re-established his capital at Jayapida Pur- another name of Andrakot. Alla-ud-din shifted his capital back to Andrakot from Srinagar. Shahmeer, his father had made Andrakot as the first capital of Muslim kingdom in Kashmir. He had sentimental attachment with it for being associated with Kota Rani. His elder son Jamshed transferred the capital to Srinagar, but All-ud-din, from the view point of safety, shifted it back to Andrakot.[57]

One redeeming feature during the reign of the first four Sultans comes to full view. Even though the pace of proselytisation was gathering

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53) Cf "Glimpses of Kashmir Culture I " Published by Parmananda Research Institute, Srinagar: pages 4-6.

54) Dr. Mohibul Hassan: Kashmir under Sultans—Page 48.

55) Verse 358. 56) Dr. R. K. Parmu: Muslim Rule in Kashmir—Page 92.

57) Verse 357.

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momentum every day, during this period of only three decades or more, yet the influence of Hindus at the royal court did not wane. The Hindus occupied the position of counsellors, advisers or ministers. Sultan Jamsheed confided in his counsellor Lakshman Bhatt.[58] Udayashri was probably the prime minister of Sultan Alla-ud-din[59] and Chandra Damar his commander-in-chief. In the company of both these, the Sultan had caught the glimpse of the Yogini, as referred to earlier. Similarly, Sultan Shahab-ud-din, when away on military compaigns, depended upon Kota Bhatt for internal administration of his kingdom[60].

Jona Raja is all praise for Sultan Shahabud-Din and compares him with Lalita Ditya-the famous warrior-king of ancient Kashmir.[61]

In the wake of his illustrious predecessor, Shahab-ud-din also undertook many military expeditions and even went as far as Peshawar and Ghazni.[62] His appetite for extending the borders of his country was unquenchable.[63] It was also necessitated by the fact that the kingdom of his predecessors was shrinking by their incompetence. Several scholars have doubted the veracity of these compaigns and termed these as highly exaggerated.[64] Their scepticism is perhaps based on the misnomer that Kashmiris only knew how to defend and could never venture to indulge in offensive. On the testimony of Jona Raja this assumption is not only unjust but also unfounded. He (Jona Raja) has narrated that the Kashmiri Sultan Sikandar was offered a gift of two elephants by Timur the Lame. Timur, who looted Delhi without compunction and called himself invincible, could not have parted with his two elephants for the King of Kashmir, for noting in return. It was definitely the scarc of Kashmiri army, which the Mongol scourage tried to pamper, so that it did not attack his forces while returning.

Where diplomacy could not work, Kashmiris were behind none to defend their Motherland by a call to steel[65]. Law and order in the country was firmly established; no conspiracies or schism polluted the placid atmosphere; hence the need for moving out for annexations

58) Verse 327. 59) Verse 344. 60) Verse 402. 61) Verse 361. 62) Verses 366-390. 63) Verse 365. 64) Dr. Mohib-ul-Hassan: Kashmir under Sultans-Page 50. 65) Verse 561.

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was keenly felt by the Sultan. The political geography of Kashmir was now turning a new leaf. Therefore, the testimony of Jona Raja regarding the military conquests of Shahab-ud-din need not be taken with a grain of salt. Kashmiri armies have penetrated deep into Kishtwar, Bhotia Pradesh, Lorin and Poonch. The military prowess of Kashmiris also did show itself off admirably well later, when Mughals were repulsed not only once but twice. Jona Raja like an awake artist does presage that "posterity might take this account of the superhuman exploits of the Sultan as mere flattery"[66]. This leaves nothing for us to guess otherwise.

Shahab-ud-din was not a religious zealot. He was catholic to the marrow of his bones, not by expediency but by conviction. When it was suggested to him that the huge idols of copper and bronze be smolten and converted into coins, as the imperial mint was running short of these[67], he promptly declined to order this vandalism and said : "How paradoxical it will seem that I would like to amass fame by breaking these immortal idols which have been installed and worshipped by certain people who have earned approbation (by doing this)". [68]

An unprecedented flood engulfed Srinagar in his reign, when the surging waters even mounted the surrounding hills. The Sultan, therefore, founded an alternate city at the foot of "SHARIKA SHAIL", (HARI PARVAT) and named it after his consort Lakshmi, as Lakshmipur and not Sharikapur.[69] This city extended from modern 'Hawal' to Lal Bazar. He also founded one more city, at the confluence of the Vitasta and the Sindh after his own name, as Shahab-ud-din-pur (modern Shadipur)[70]

Unfortunately some Persian historians have painted Shahab-ud-din as an inconoclast in their misguided enthusiasm for the propagation of Islam.[71] Jona Raja has prophetically smelt this and has consequently

66) Verse 391. 67) Verse 430. 68) Verse 435.
69) Dr. Parmu : History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir-Page 96.
70) Verse 411. 71) Bharistan Shahi Ms : Page 19-20, Haider Malik

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warned the future generations : " The King Shahab-ud-din had broken the idols of gods; this preposterous and unfounded assertion should not in any way unnervc the posterity."[71] Jona Raja was born in 1389 and died in 1459 A. D. Shahab-ud-din's span of regin ranges from 1354 to 1373 A. D. ; so it is abundantly clear that Jona Raja's account of Shahab-ud-din's rule is only 16 years anterior to him. In the face of such a brief interval between the death of Shahab-ud-din and the birth of Jona Raja his testimony can never be dismissed cheaply, whil e the Persian chronicles, e. g. Baharistan Shahi (1586-1614 A. D.) Haidar Malik's Tariki Kashmir (1618 A. D.) and, to crown all, Peer Hassan's Tarikhi- Kashmir (1885 A. D.) depended upon for what they have recorded about Sultan Shahab-ud-din. Theirs is only a hearsay or wishful thinking while Jona Raja, from the point of historicity, is more reliable.

To sum up, Jona Raja has every sort of admiration for this benevolent Sultan of Kashmir ; only Zainulab-din (Badshah) possesses a slight edge over him according to this Hindu historian. Kutub-ud-din (Kuda-din) succeeded his father Shahab-ud-din as the Sultan of Kashmir from 1373 A. D. The Sultan had to undertake military compaigns against Raja of Lohara (Lorin) and the Khashas (Khokhi), inhabiting the south western belt of Pir Panchal range (Rajori) and also in Kishtwar.[72] He brought these erring vassals to book under the generalship of Lolak the Damar. The Sultan also started a free 'langer' for the people in view of recurring famines[73] in the valley, every, year at a very huge cost. Through the blessing of one Yogi Brahma Natha he got the desired progeny ; he had been without any son or daughter earlier.[74]

He also founded a township within the city, after his name, as Qutab-ud-din-pora. Modern scholars have identified it as the tract of land now known as Mohalla Haji Peer Mohamd Sahib,[75] (also called as 'Langar

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Chadura Mss-Page 42, Hassan Khoyami: Urdu Translation II-chapter 165. 71) Verse 437. 72) Verses 468, 525. 73) Verse 528. 74) Verse 531.

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Hatta' bazar near Islamia College to-day). There is a mohalla in Srinagar bearing this name even now. It is situated on the left bank of the Jhelum between Zainakadal and Ali Kadal, some distance below Gurgari Mohalla. I am led to believe that the Sultan was in some way the founder of this locality/habitation. Future research may unfold some relevant information regarding this.

Sultan Qutub-ud-din breathed his last in 1381 A. D. At that time his son Sikandar was only eight years old. Being a minor, his mother Subhatta acted as his regent and appointed two advisers, Uddak and Sahak, for efficient governance of the land.[76] Shri P. N. Bazaz gives her name as Bibi Hora but does not indicate any source.[77] The mother had such an immense love for her elder son Sikandar, that she did not hesitate to put to sword her own daughter and son-in-law Mohammed, when it was suspected that they were conspiring against the reigning sovereign.[78] The younger son Haibat was also similarly done away with[79] by poisoning. In such a callous yet judicious manner the fondling mother paved the way for her son to ascend the throne without any impediments, whatsoever. On assumption of regal power Sikandar started a compaign of exterminating his foes; his own brother-in-law (brother of his first wife Shri Shobha) was not even spared[80]. The two advisers during the regency of his mother were done away with.[81] Here-in we shall have to refer to a controvercy regarding the status of Shri Shobha in the harem of Sultan Sikandar. Persian chroniclers have termed her as the second wife of the King; but according to Jona Raja this seems to be a wild guess. He clearly indicates her position as "Mahadevi", the senior-most queen.[82] When Sikandar married Mera, the daughter of King of Ohind, Udbhandpur near 'Attak' in west Panjab, Shri Shobha suffered in her rank. Mera, being a Muslim by birth, got precedence over her. Till then the Sultan was not much biased against Hindus. Again, Jona Raja pays a compliment to him in as much as the queen

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75) Dr. Mohibul Hassan, Dr. Parmu and Dr. R. N. Singh.

76) Verses 531-533. 77) Daughters of Vitasta. Page 141. 78) Verse 542.

79) Verse 545. 80) Verse 549. 81) Verses 547, 556. 82) Verse 544.

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Shri Shobha got the Shiva-temples rennovated[83], presumably with the consent of the Sultan. The valour and terror of the Sultan made him quite safe and secure on the throne.[84]

Perhaps the most note-worthy event of his reign is his diplomacy with which he bought peace from Timur the Lame, who had earlier sacked Delhi. The scanning eye of the Sultan could not under-rate the invincibility of this barbarous Turk; hence smelling his invasion on his land, he sent an emissary to him when he was camping at the Indus and conveyed his unflinching loyalty to him. The whimsical Turk felt flattered by this gesture of servility and sent a word back to the Sultan to meet him along with his army at Dipalpur.[85] The Sultan had hardly reached Baramulla with his retinue when he was given to understand that Timur had already left for his home-land Samarkand. This good tidings gave great relief to the Sultan. The Turk-invader had been touched by the loyalty of the Kashmiri Sultan and sent him two royal elephants as a present.[86]

Jona Raja does not give all these details. He only refers to the gift of two elephants sent by the "Malechha" King-(Timur), while returning from Delhi, to the Sultan.[87] But in this very verse he has also unfolded in one word the cause for this unbelievable kind gesture from this cruel and callous invader. He uses the word "the suspicious Malechha King.[88] Herein this Sanskrit historian would make us believe that Timur feared an attack from the Sultan when his army was returning to Samarkand with invaluable booty. In order to keep him in good humour the Turk sent two royal elephants to him. Jona Raja further extols the towering stature of these beasts which were definitely a rarity in Kashmir.[89] Jona Raja acknowledges the superiority of his Sultan over Timur and in a subdued tone does hint that the latter wanted to buy neutrality of Sikandar, for which end in view he sent the gift of two elephants to him. Like an astute general, Timur could anticipate Sikandar's sending reinforcements to Sultan Mohd Tughlak of Delhi. In order to forestall these designs he

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83) Ibid. 84) Verse 558. 85) Zaffarnama-II, pages 177, 181, and Munich papers - MS. 61-B. 86) Verse 562. 87) Ibid. 88) Verses 563-65.
89) Narain Kaul Ajiz MS 663; Haider Malik MS 44 and others.

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overwhelmed Sikandar with this unique but, all the same, very respectful gift. During the sack of Delhi it was free for all, but Sikandar's intervention would have made a veritable difference. Persian chroniclers, Hindus as well as Muslims, are unequivocal in asserting that it was Sikandar who was actually scared of vandalism of Timur, which seems more probable. Jona Raja has tried to be over-patriotic in delineating this incident. At the same time, he deserves credit also for not skipping over this great event in Indian History, when he refers to the sack of Delhi by Timur.

During the initial years of his rule the Sultan was very forbearing and charitable. Jona Raja has most graphically described this trait of the King. He has recorded "Nobody can describe his charitable disposition; the lotus-bands (of the Hindu subjects) would always feel drenched with water.[90] It is a convention with the Hindus to receive alms or 'dakshina' (fee etc) with hands wet with water so that in return they spray the benefactor with this very water, showering blessings on him. It is therefore clear that Sikandar treated the Hindu subjects also kindly along with the Muslims. Unfortunately the Sultan could not maintain this policy for long. The visit of Syed Mohammad Hamdani, the illustrious son of Amir Kabir, changed his catholic out-look on life, to a large extent.[91] Jona Raja very diplomatically ascribes the reason of this great change in the Sultan to the vices rampant in his (Hindu) subjects.[92] But at the same time he acknowledges the over-all superiority of this missionary from Hamdan. He tells us that "He was a shining moon among the stars; though very junior in age, he was adored as the senior-most in scholarship." The Sultan was in his grip and under his spell and through his exhortations an era of unprecedented proselytisation was inaugurated in Kashmir.[93] Shariat was for the first time proclaimed as the state religion. He appointed the ministers, all of them neo-converts:Ladda Raja, Vaidya Shankar and Suha Bhatta,[94] perhaps with this unfailing belief that the converts are more rabid than the originals, hence will not hesitate to perpetrate every kind of tyranny on their erstwhile co-religionists.

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90) Verse 569. 91) Verse 573, 92) Ibid-Verse 572; 93) Verses 474-476. 94) Verse 585.

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At the instance of Syed Mohammed Hamdani the Sultan married Mera, the daughter of the King of Ohind, who was a born Muslim. Naturally Shri Shobha, his first queen, had to get degraded in status. Her sons were killed. Mera, gave three sons to the Sultan: Mer Khan, Shahi Khan and Mohammed Khan.[95] Dr. Mohibul Hassan has somehow or other inferred that Shri Shobha had adopted sons. While quoting Jona Raja on this subject, incorrectly, he has mentioned no other source for this inference.[96] Jona Raja has actually used the epithet "artificial" with the sons of Shri Shobha. According to Hindu Dharmashastras adoption is of two kinds:one "Dattak", the offered and taken, the other "Kratrim, only for completion of certain rites of a sonless father, after his death. In the first the consent of the adopted is not necessary, while it is imperative in the case of second, who acts as a waterson.[97] Even though adoption is banned in Islam, yet this custom of adoption is not wholly extinct among the Muslims of Kashmir, even today. Therefore, we can safely assert that the sons of Shri Shobha were actually the water-sons. The word used "artificial" can have other intonation also. It may mean "unreal". Since the sons were the progeny of a Hindu queen, hence they were not real Muslims though given Muslim names. So they were banished from the state. The sole motive for their being shunted out of Kashmir seems to be to keep the throne safe for the (real) Muslim sons of Mera.

The Sultan founded a new city at the foot of the Sharika Parbat. Muslim historians have called it as "Nowhatta"-the name which has survived to date. They refer also to his building of the imposing Jama Masjid, adjacent to the new city.[98]

Actually the arch-intriguer against the Hindus was Suha Bhatta. He came under the influence of Syed Mohammad Hamdani, and was converted to Islam with the name of Saif-ud-Din- "the sword of faith." He may not have proved as much a defender of his adopted faith, but he did definitely unleash his sword on Hindus. Herein his name proved prophetic. Jona Raja equates Suha Bhatta with the ancient King Harsha-[99] the Turk, the epithet given to him contemptuously by Kalhana, for the wholesale destruction of temples and idols. The massive temples

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95) Verse 587. 96) Kashmir under Sultans. 97) Manu Smriti.
98) Tarikhi Hassan. 99) Verse 598.

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at Martand, Bijbehara, Ishabar (near Nishat Garden), Triphar (at the foot of Mahadeva mountain) and in Baramulla district were razed to the ground.[100]

After demolishing the temples, the relentless crusader against Hindu faith, Suha Bhatta turned his attention towards the persecution of Hindus. He enforced Jazia and compelled thousands of Hindus to embrace Islam.[101] Those who resisted were put to sword; some fled the country for fear of reprisal. But there were also dauntless believers in Hindu faith who did raise a banner of revolt against this mass conversion. Jona Raja gives their names as Sinah Bhatta and Kastuta-the grocers and Nirmalacharya.[102] The last mentioned spurned the royal patronage and preferred penury to change of faith.[103] The excesses committed by the subordinate officers cannot absolve the reigning king from the infamy thus earned and sins committed; hence the tyranny let loose by Suha Bhatta paid its toll back in the shape of the Sultan's incurable malady. Seeing his end near, he annoinated his eldest son Mer Khan (Ali Shah) as his successor and breathed his last on the eighth day of the dark fortnight of Jeth in 4489, the year of the local calendar.[104] It comes to 1413 A.D. according to the English calendar.

Before the account of Sikandar, as given by Jona Raja, is concluded it will be pertinent to refer to the meticulous caution with which the historian has tried to cover up the mis-deeds of the Sultan by keeping Suha Bhatta only in the dock. Perhaps Jona Raja did not like to malign the parent of his benefactor (Budshah) for reasons obvious and consequently shifted all the odium to Suha Bhatta and to Hindus. But at the same time he does say that the Sultan could not wash his hands off these atrocities.[105] His tacit consent must have been obtained by Suha Bhatta through the good-offices of Syed Mohammad Hamdani, who was actually the big boss in those dark days. The Sultan was always at his beck and call and could not go against his wishes.[106]

Persian historians have advanced many reasons for Suha Bhatta to wreck vengence on his erstwhile co-religionists, but Jona Raja has simply written that he came under the magnetic spell of Syed

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100) Verses 600-602. 101) Verse 606. 102) Verse 608. 103) Verse 610, 104) Verses 611-612. 105) Ibid. 106) Verse 574.

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Muhammad Hamdani and at his bidding took to heaping inhumanities on Hindus and their religion.

In discharging his mission of persecuting Hindus he had to prove that he was more loyal than the king. His over-enthusiasm in this respect can be squarely explained by the fact that being a convert his go-slow policy could have been misunderstood, and also misinterpreted; hence he had to look like the most devout Muslim and the most zealous partner in this "Jehad" against the Hindus. The fanciful inferences[107] of Persian historians in this regard have no credence as the contemporary record of Jona Raja is silent on these.

Mir Khan assumed the name Ali Shah on ascending the throne. He, after fruitless flirtation with regal splendour, decided to undertake pilgrimage to Mecca and nominated his brother Shahi Khan (Zainul-abdin) as his successor. But being prevailed upon by his father-in-law, the Hindu Raja of Jammu, he changed his mind and returned to Kashmir.[108] Shahi Khan did not resist his taking up the mantle of Sultan once again. Later he was killed in a battle with Khokhars,[109] thus paving the unobstructed way for Shahi Khan to ascend the throne. These two incidents are perhaps sufficient to prove that the inherent tenets of Muslim faith had not made any substantial headway in the Valley, though the population was being admitted into its fold by hook or by crook. This was only a political expediency. The King Ali Shah had married two daughters of Hindu Raja of Jammu, which is un-Islamic, since a Muslim has been ordained to marry a non-Muslim only when he or she is converted to Islam. It is also enjoined in Islam that two real sisters cannot be wives to the same spouse concurrently. Moreover, once a 'Kasad' (resolution) is made to undertake Haj, it should not be revoked in any case. This very back-

107) Hassan records that Suha Bhatta, once seriously ill, was prescribed chiken soup for speedy recovery. For this sacrilege he was excommunicated from the Brahmin fold; as an adverse reaction to this unseemly treatment meted out to him, Suha Bhatta wreaked vengeance on them.

108) Verse 711. 109) Verse 749.

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ground facilitated Budshah to rehabilitate Hindus, as the loyalty of the people to their new faith was not even skin-deep as yet. It may well be called just a change of label from Hindu to Muslim. The neo-converts were still finding their feet, their only hobby was to pay off old scores under the garb of religious crusades. Shahi Khan (Budshah) as a prince already had a foretaste of this, when the adjoining Hindu tribes and neo-convert tribes of Thakurs and Khokhars had helped him to regain the throne from his brother.[110] Therefore on assumption of power he elected to own benevolence instead of violence. Sultan Sikandar and his evil-genius Suha Bhatta failed to cash on this policy of conciliation instead of confrontation, thereby mutilating their image in Kashmir history.

Jona Raja has very rightly referred to this change of heart in Budshah. The Sultan effected far-reaching and sweeping adjustments to make the Hindus comfortable and thereby he made amends for the sins of his predecessors.[111]

So much ink has been spent in delineating the golden reign of Budshah, that it would seem redundant to repeat all this. However, some light needs to be thrown on two or three points which have been more or less glossed over by the authors.

The first point which deserves emphasis is that Zain-ul-abdin was never under the influence of Hindus. He was a devout Muslim and would consult the Shaikul-Islam on every measure he would like to introduce.[112] Perhaps this is also the reason that "Shariat" as the state-religion could not be replaced. In accordance with its dictates, Jazia also was not revoked entirely, but fixed at a lower rate.[113] Zain-ul-abdin could not dare to go totally against the current of public opinion, built brick by brick by his forefathers, so far as treatment towards Hindus was concerened. Fanatics did raise their eye-brows on his attitude towards the Hindus and for this very purpose Syed Sad Ullah came from Mecca with a huge load of books.[114] He tried to cajole the Sultan into reversing this tolerant policy, but the latter

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110) Verse 716 111) Verse 776. 112) Verse 853. 113) Verse 817. 114) Verse 841-844.

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did not oblige.[115] Budshah seems to have been more awake than those zealots who would try to foist their faith on others not by persuasion but through coercion. He therefore first of all called upon his own kinsmen to set their house in order.[116] Muslims had multiplied themselves into different sects; Shias, Sunnis, Sayeds, Sufis and were vying with each other to show the other sects down. The Sultan could very well anticipate that once the object of their combined hatred-the Hindu - was gone, they would fall out among themselves. Once such a nihilistic propensity is nurtured, it can express itself in any shape whatsoever. Therefore like a true follower of the Prophet he tried to consolidate the Muslim Brotherhood and exhorted them to sink their differences and close their ranks. It would have done more harm than good to the spread of Islam. How prophetically Budshah hinted towards this, can be easily corroborated by the subsequent Chak rule over Kashmir. Therefore, reinstallation of the irritant - the Hindu - did not only do good to him but also made the Muslim society cohesive and viable.

The second point which needs explanation here is the appointment of the Hindus to very responsible posts. The neo-converts, thinking themselves dandies, could not be expected to handle the intricate problems of statecraft. Moreover, they were actually the scum of the Hindu population; hence their credentials for running the government could not be depended upon, and the proverbial Eleven had survived the tyranny of the earlier Sultans. The state was in the doldrums owing to lack of foresight on the part of the predecessors of Budshah. Draught and flood in his reign made the state poorer all the more. In this predicament a hunt for Brahmin talent was made, so that the state be entrusted to it to set things in order. Moreover, the Hindu, unbelievably elevated to such position after an interval of condemnation, had perforce to appear more loyal than the king and would apply his heart and soul together to prove his capability. Thus the state was again put on the rails and attained the speed which it had squandered earlier. Tilakacharya,

115) Verse 867.

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Shriya Bhatta, Sinhabhatta,[116] Ruyya Bhatta, Karpura Bhatta,[117] Ramananda,[118] Gaurak Bhatta,[119] Jaya Bhatta[120] and a host of such luminaries administered the land of their birth with unparalelled devotion and to the best of their capacity. In this bargain Budshah made double gain. He became the champion of the underdog - the Hindu- and also gave his state a very good government.

The third point regarding the renovation of the temples and grant of lands to the Hindus can also be explained in this manner. During the reign of earlier Sultans, more-so when Sikandar through SuhaBatta unleashed an era of unprecedented tyranny over the Hindus, the temples were annihilated and the Hindus were fleeing the country, leaving behind the jagirs attached to these temples fallow and desolate. The neo-converts only relished in bringing death, destruction and loot, but never cared to attend to these jagirs for getting produce out of them. At best they could think only of converting temples into mosques but that sentiment alone could in no way act as the substitute for sustenance.

Budshah's scanning eye could very well locate the disease; so he not only pledged safety to the hiding Hindus, but also coaxed those, who had left, to return to their home-land. Rennovation of temples was executed under the supervision of Shriya Bhatta,[121] which restored confidence into Hindu folk. Once again the lands attached to these temples were brought under plough and the food prospects of the country improved substantially.

Moreover in the wake of building a net - work of canals and water feeders, he rehabilitated the Hindus also on[122] the land thus reclaimed, It served the purpose of replenishing the government treasury with the revenue these lands yielded. Whatever the inherent motive of Budshah regarding these steps, it is laudable on his part to usher in liberalism, despite the resentment of his Muslim subjects. He stood his ground firmly well and that is perhaps the indisputable reason

116) Verse 824. 117) Verse 827. 118) Verse 828. 119) Verse 959.
120) Verse 972.
121) Verse 889. 122) Verse 879.

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which makes him the tallest of all the sultans in Kashmir. He possessed an unbending sinew and could never be swayed by passion. His reason thoroughly groomed was not only precise but also perfect. When the neo-converts under instructions from Syed Sad Ullah, who harboured a grudge against the king, as alluded to earlier, got arrowed to death a Yogi[123] who had blessed the Sultan with male issues, he at first sought the counsel of the Shaikhul Islam, who decreed that "eye for eye" treatment be meted out to him. But the king did not like to act in haste and also alienate the sympathies of the Muslims. He introduced a novel method of punishing Sad Ullah by making him ride a donkey with his face towards its tail and his beard singed off. The people were asked to spit at him wherever he was conducted in this plight, but the King spared him his life. In other words he extendedim munity from death to Syeds also, as was the practice regarding the Brahmins in earlier Hindu period. Undoubtedly the Sultan resurrected the dying human values, nursed these with his sharp intellectual prowess and tried to sell these out to his co-religionists. Nature willed otherwise. When his reign, like the flicker of a glow-worm in engulfing darkness, came to an end, his successors could not appreciate the exact import of his emancipated outlook, but reverted to wholesale repression on Hindus, that also with vengeance.

Jona Raja has given us an eye-witness account of the first thirty-nine years of the reign of this gracious Sultan. He concludes the account abruptly at verse (976), without adducing any reason for it. The account of penultimate eleven years of his rule has been narrated by Shrivara in his Zaina Tarangini, as already indicated.

This benevolent Sultan, by commissioning Jona Raja to pen down his history, has been instrumental in doing permanent good to the annals of Kashmir. No contemporary Persian chronicle has come down to us in this respect. The earliest Persian reference to Kashmir is contained in 'Tarikhi-Feroz Shahi (1285-1286 A. D.) by Zia-ud-Din Barni. Obviously this is a historical record about Feroz Shah Tughlak of Delhi. Mention of Kashmir has come there-in in a casual manner.

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123) Vere. 849.

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Mulla Ahmad's 'Tarikhi Kashmir', was composed after the reign of Budshah. It can conveniently be treated as the first Persian chronicle of the Sultans af Kashmir. In view of this, by getting the events recorded by contemporary Hindus, the king not only provided an authentic base to these, but also bequeathed to the future scholars enough material to build up his personality, after exchanging the notes of Sanskrit and Persian histories. It will not be an exaggeration to say here that his period alone can take rightful pride in being authentic in Kashmir History. Jona Raja has performed his mission with honesty of purpose and dedication to his profession. His account of Budshah, though incomplete, is not wanting in any thing. It is neither magnified nor played down. The subsequent Persian chroniclers, without any exception, have profusely drawn from him and then only built their respective theses. Kashmiris owe a debt to Jona Raja for erecting the contours of a light-house of accurate historicity which reduces to nullity thankless pastime of groping in the dark.

Shrivara :

Without beating about the bush, Shrivara straightway adduces two reasons for taking up the thread of chronicle-writing from Jona Raja. Firstly, he writes "I have taken this assignment simply to complete the unfinished History of Kings written by Jona Raja, whose disciple I am."[124] At the same time he, in all humility, confesses his diffidence to reach up to his guru's heights.[125] Secondly, he acknowledges the fillial affection which Sultan Zain-ul-abdin nourished for him and to repay his debt towards him elected to write history, so that posterity does not forget him altogether.[126] He pays back what he owed to the Sultan, not in terms of gold which is perishable, but in words throbbing with his gratitude for him, imperishable of course. No better deal than this could be imagined. He made his name immortal while his treasures and regal splendour lie buried in the womb of past. Shrivara makes the Sultan live in the present even though belonging to the days of yore.

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124) Zaina Raja Tarangini I, i, 7. 125) Ibid 8. 126) I, i, 12

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As has been indicated earlier Jona Raja could not write the account of penultimate eleven years of Budshah's reign. He was snatched away by the icy hands of death. So in all sincerity Shrivara records that Jona Raja mounted the funeral pyre in the 35th year of the local calendar which works at 1457 A. D.[127] So, the commencement of his treatise can be taken safely from this year, and he also could complete the account of Kashmir Sultans upto the year 1486 A. D. only, much against his wishes. Therefore, Shrivara records the events of more or less 29 years as an eye witness. Even though he has veneration for his Guru Jona Raja, yet he has arranged his chronicle on the pattern used by Kalhana; he alone seems to be his ideal in this field. Jona Raja has given verses serially without breaking these into sections or subsections. Shrivara has revived the "Taranga" form of dividing history into cantos. He has also indicated the subjects he has treated in a particular canto at the end of each. With this astute wakefulness on his part, he got rid of the interpolations whatsoever. Beginning the History of Kashmiri Sultans with the last eleven years of Budshah he has ended it with the Sultan Fatehshah's accession to the throne. In between these he has treated profusely Haider Shah, Hassan Shah and Mohammad Shah- a span of Kashmir History covering nearly 29 years. In the colophon of his last canto he only says that "This canto has ended", but does not indicate that Zaina Tarangini, as a whole, has come to an end. This cleary establishes that he was also not destined to complete whole of the project. His untimely death must have intervened to leave it incomplete like his guru Jona Raja. He has captioned his "River of Kings" as Zaina Tarangini directly as well as at end of each canto, which proves beyond any doubt that his forte was to describe the reign of Budshah only in the first instance. Budshah's successors have been described only to preserve the continuity of the Sultan. At that time many compositions were named after the Sultan[128] - Noth Soma composed "Zainacharita"; Yodha Bhatta: Zaina Prakash and Bhatta Avtar: "Zaina Vilasa". Shrivara also took after the fashion of the time; hence instead of christening his chronicle as Raja Tarangini, he gave it the title "Zaina Tarangini". Shrivara while unfolding the events of reign of the Sultan clearly mentioned that he would describe the rule of the king along

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127) I, 1, 6; 128) I, 4, 37-39;

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with his son - presumably Haji.[129] Perhaps this insertion proves that towards the closing year of his reign Zainul-ab-Din had become ineffective and the power was actually concentrated in the hands of his sons; so this historian could not afford to ignore the authority of the son while describing the reign of his father. Furthermore, Shrivara spares us the trouble of making unnecessary conjectures in this behalf by recording that the Sultan was so much scared of his other sons that he kept Haji always with himself, perhaps as a veritable shield for any surprise attack on him.[130] His tactics were to play one brother against the other, so that he would himself remain unscathed and steer safe between the two. Shrivara has described the reign of Badshah in a more detailed manner than his predecessor Jona Raja. While Jona Raja has dispensed with the first 39 years of the rule of the Sultan in 267 verses, Shrivara has treated a far less span of years in 786 verses.

Two unforeseen natural calamities befell Kashmiris in those years. The first was the unprecedented rains in Chet i. e. March and April. Shrivara even says that dust did pour down from the sky which obstructed the prospects of rice-sowing with the result that food shortage loomed large before the denizens of this land of plenty.[131] Perhaps to accentuate the conditions of famine snow fall was unexpectedly witnessed in the month of Maghar i. e. October. The crops already hit by unprecedented rains earlier, were engulfed by early snow. Whatever food could be salvaged from the fields was turned to dust before ripening. The cycle of famine was thus complete.[132] Shrivara gives a vivid, yet pathetic, description of people tormented by hunger; The thieves breaking into houses at night left gold, silver and money untouched, but ransacked every utensil for laying hands on food.[133] The people were forced to eat vegetables, roots and fruits. When these got exhausted the people did not spare the leaves of the trees, more especially the "Bandhujiva" (sustainer of the kind literally, actually the name of the sun-flower

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129) I, 1, 17. 130) I, 1,83-84.

131) I, 2, 7-8. 132) Ibid 12-13. 133) Ibid 16.

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plant). One 'khari' of paddy which used to sell at three hundred dinars was now available at fifteen hundred dinars and that also with much difficulty.[134]

The Sultan rose upto this misfortune without losing his nerve. He devised many means to ameliorate the sufferings of his people. He purchased paddy at a very high cost, even imported it and gave it to people at subsidised rates. The black marketeers were brought to book and artificial scarcity created by these was reduced to a large extent. He also opened free 'langars' for the most poor sections of his people. To crown all, he opened avenues of work for people, so that they could earn wages and thus keep wolf out of the door. Earth - work camps were installed; edible oil was got extracted from the walnuts and other kinds of greases from the pines and other forest trees [135] Above all he enforced moratorium on debts-the agencies of lending and borrowing were abolished.[136]

Zainul-ab-Din had also to contend with the runaway habits of his son Adam Khan who even tried to snatch the throne from the Sultan. Consequently the King had to bring him to bay at Pallashila near Shopian where a fierce fight took place between the father and the son. Adam Khan was repentent, hence his life was spared by the orders of the Sultan. Conspiracies and counter-conspiracies in his court were as much responsible for this rebellious character of Adam Khan. The Sultan returned to his capital and erected a pyramid of the skulls of Adam Khan's soldiers, put to sword in this war. This was the reason why the Sultan annoinated Haji Khan as the heir-apparent. Adam Khan went into self-exile. On the heels of the earlier flood and consequent famine in the thirty sixth year of the reign of the Sultan i. e. in 1460 A. D., only after two years, this scourage repeated itself. Another bolt from the blue made the conditions in Kashmir far more worse. All the rivers, namely Vitasta, Ladri, Veshav, Sindh and Kuta Kol were in spate due to torrential rains and vied with

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134) Ibid 24-25;
135) I, 2, 32-33; 136) Ibid 34.

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each other in recording the highest water-level.[137] The king, in order to see for himself the ravage wrought by this flood, toured the districts submereged under water in a boat. He felt grieved to see the paddy under water, foreboding shortage of cereals. At last the swaying waves found respite at Sonawari.[138] Persian historians have not described this second flood at all. Since Shrivara's evidence is of contemporary importance, hence his testimony to this effect cannot be discredited.

Fireworks were also introduced in Kashmir in the reign of Budshah. Shrivara has profusely described the different varieties of these made by Kashmiri artisans,[139] e. g. the arrows, the discs, the sheets, the tubes tied with string and waved in the air, the petal-shedding flowers, the wavy-serpents etc.[140] The master - mind behind all these inventions was one "Habib".[141] Salt-petre and sulphur were also harnessed into making guns and cannons. For the first time in the history of Kashmir such missiles were invented and used. Shrivara even gives the date of this marvellous invention, which is 1465 A. D. He further says that it was called "Top" in Muslim language and "Kanda" in popular dialect.[142] The Sultan had also maintained a river-army, more or less a navy in miniature. This wing of the army was provided boats for the mobility of soldiers on water ways where the fights would take place. Shrivara has permed down that one "Deva" by name was the chief of this force.[143]

The Sultan was also very receptive to fine arts. He was not only a gifted singer (vocalist as well as instrumentalist) himself, but also showered limitless bounties on talented singers. The musical instrument "Rabab" is actually indigenous. Out of ignorance some Persian historians have asserted that it was imported here from Iran. Shrivara's contemporary evidence in this behalf cannot be contradicted. He says "The invention of this musical instrument Rabab Behlol and other vocalists were munificently rewarded by the King."[144]

The Sultan was torn with grief towards the closing years of his life. The sole cause for his dismay, which eventually broke his health, was the fued between his sons. His eldest son Adam Khan did not refrain from waging war against his father. The King died with a

137) Ibid I, 3, 4-8. 138) Ibid 26-29. 139) Ibid I, 4, 19. 140) Ibid I, 4, 22-27. 141) Ibid I, 1, 72-73. 142) Ibid I, 1, 77. 143) I, 4, 30. 144) Ibid I, 2, 59.

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broken heart on Friday, the twelfth of Jeth, in the year 1527 Bikrimi (1470 A. D.), having ruled for fiftytwo years.[145] In the words of Shrivara "On that day the houses were devoid of smoke, as no cooking was done in the city. The people became life-less and speechless with grief on being bereaved of their master."[146]

He was laid to rest in his ancestral graveyard (Mazari-Salatin) near the grave of his father Sikandar. A grave-stone glittering like transparent crystal was erected there with an epitaph inscribed on it.[147] However this stone is missing at present in the Mazari-Salatin. If it were discovered, the exact date of the Sultan's demise could be found out without any brain-racking whatsoever.

In view of the strife amongst his sons, his advisers had suggested to the Sultan that he should name his heir - apparent in his life time. Adam Khan had already revolted against his father and was living at Jammu with his maternal uncle. The youngest Behram was not also looked upon kindly by his father, the Sultan. Even though he (the Sultan) had a soft corner for Haji Khan, the second son, yet he refrained from nominating him as his successor. He simply said, "I will not confer my kingdom on any one of my sons during my life-time. He, who is strongest amongst them all, will definitely get the throne after I am no more."[148]

So, when Budshah breathed his last, Haji Khan his second son ascended the throne on the first day of dark fortnight of Jetha in 1470 A.D., but was destined to reign only for one year and ten months.[149] Adam Khan the eldest was in self - exile and the youngest Behram Khan was paid the price of 'Nagam-jager' for renouncing his claim to the throne. Moreover, the 'Kuchhais,' a local clan were in fovour of Haji Khan. All these causes contributed to his coming to power. He assumed the name of Haider Shah as sultan[1] and issued his royal-seal under this very name. He was anointed as the king, by the Royal Treasurer, Hassan Kuchhai with due religious

145) Ibid I, 7, 223. 146) Ibid I, 7, 257.
147) Ibid 258; 148) I, 7, 101-107. 149) II, 3.

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formalities.[150] Herein it may be said without any fear of contradiction that Sultan Haider Shah ordered the performance of age-old Hindu rites of "Raja-Tilak" along with the Muslim ceremonies pertinent to the assumption of kingship.[151] On that auspicious day whole of "Sikandar-puri" (present Nowshehra), near Srinagar was profusely illuminated.[1]

His first act as the Sultan was to confer the Jagir of Nagam "of fertile soil" upon his younger brother Behram Khan.[153] He also gave away Ikshika (Pachhagom near Damodar-udar) and Kamraz to his son[154] Hassan and proclaimed him as his heir-apparent.[155] The rulers of Rajori and Indus (Sindhu) who had come to take part in his coronation were honoured by the Sultan.[156]

An extraordinary event during his reign has besmeared the reputation of tolerance built brick by brick by his father Budshah. The Sultan was actually a nincompoop and given to licentious addiction to wine and women.[157] One barbar, a neo-convert "Purna" by name earned his confidence and also acted as his pimp and tout.[158] This barbar lost his head by the unbelievable protection he received from the Sultan, for reasons obvious, and began to unleash a reign of terror on the people, especially the Hindus. The limbs of offenders were got amputated on a light excuse. Being suffocated by such tyranny the Hindus gave expression to their pent-up feelings by damaging the "Khanqah" of the Sayid.[159] The Muslim subjects of the Sultan being exasperated by this sacrilege prompted him to teach a lesson to the Hindu subjects by inflicting most inhuman atrocities on them.[160] In this context Shrivara has recorded : "The Sultan, torn to the quicks by this, got the hands and noses of many Hindus amputated. He even ordered the demolition of the idol at the Bahu-Khatkeshwara,[160] the presiding Bhairva of the City.'

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150) Ibid 8. 151) Ibid. 152) Ibid 5. 153) Ibid II, 10.
154) Stein Raja Tarangini II, 475; 155) Zaina Tarangini II, 11 ;
156) Ibid 14 ; 157) Ibid 17 ; 158) Ibid 33 ; 159) Dr. Mohibul Hassan identifies it with Khanqahi Moulla, "Kashmir under the Sultans" page 97 ; Zaina Tarangini II, 123 ; 160) This shrine stands at the

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Intensity of such atrocities compelled many Hindus to forsake their own faith and dress, and declare that they were not Bhattas.[161] In this connection it may be safely asserted that 'Nabatu', the colloquial phrase in Kashmiri even current today, denoting total annihilation of Bhattas, has its origin in 'Na Bhatta Aham' (I am not a Bhatta). This is the second "Nabatu" in the series on records, the first being in the reign of Sikandar.[162] Adam Khan, the eldest son of Budshah and vitrually having an undisputed title to the throne, thought this time most propitious to invade Kashmir and snatch away kingship from his brother Haider Khan. He was not far from wrong in choosing this time for his attack. The king was oblivious to his duties and a sizable portion of his subjects was disgruntled. About the law and order situation prevailing at that time in Kashmir, Shrivara has remarked- "The thieves, the jackals, the cruel, the adulterors, the crimnals and the deceitful roamed about during the day even."[163] Adam Khan wanted to invade Kashmir through Poonch. In the meanwhile the Sultan smelling the perfidy and colloboration of Hassan Kuchhi (who had anointed him as the Sultan) with Adam Khan, got him assasinated. On hearing this Adam Khan retreated to Jammu. But he was not destined to live long. While fighting on the side of Manikya Deva of Jammu, his materral uncle, against the Moguls, Adam Khan was killed. Haider Khan got his dead body to Srinagar and he was buried beside his mother at Subyar, on the bank of Jhelum between Ali Kadal and Nawa Kadal.[164]

The Sultan had become so week-minded and suspicious that he did not accord befitting reception even to his son Hassan returning from his victorious military expedition outside Kashmir. His Nero-like disposition has been graphically delineated by Shrivara: "when the Lakshimpur, a town founded by Shahabud Din (at the foot of Hari Parbat), was in flames and the five annexes of his own residence (as the prince) were burning, the Sultan ascended the roof of his palace and felt so much jubiliant (on seeing the ravages of fire) that he began to indulge in drinking there and then."[165] While attending a drinking party in his

confluence of Dud - Ganga and Vitasta at Chhattabal below Safakadal. Zaina Tarangini—II, 124-126 ; 161) Ibid, 125.

162) Jona Raja, Verses 606-607 ;

163) Ibid II-29 ; 164) Ibid II, 110 ; 165) Ibid II, 143.

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lotus-palace, his foot slipped on the marble floor. He fell down and his nose began to bleed profusely. He swooned into a coma from which he never recovered afterwards. He breathed his last in the month of Baisakh on Basant Panchmi in 1472 A. D.[166] At that time the Royal power was swinging between his uncle Behram Khan and the prince Hassan, like a person of suspicious disposition not knowing on whom to depend."[167]

Shrivara has clearly indicated that a knotty problem of succession to Haidar Shah confronted the courtiers when the Sultan died. One Ahmed Yatu (whom Shrivara calls as "Ayukta" or the Commissar), after having consultations with the nobles offered the crown to Behram Khan, the youngest son of Budshah on one condition that he would declare Prince Hassan as his heir-apparent. He did not agree to this. Ahmed Yatu, with the consent of the ministers, thought it more expedient to confer sultanate on inexperienced Hassan than on turbulent and haughty Behram.[168] The learned historians of this period, Dr. Parmu, Dr. Mohibul Hassan, Dr. Kapur[169] have applied the axe there and have erroneously inferred that Prince Hassan got the throne without any murmur from Behram Khan. The actual facts are that Behram Khan did collect the forces loyal to him when the negotiations with Ahmed Yatu broke down. Skirmishes did take place, but the royal guards under the command of Abhimanyu thwarted the plans of Behram Khan.[170] Moreover, Shrivara has recorded unambiguously that when Prince Hassan was informed that the city was cleared off of the enemies and he himself was safe and secure, he ordered the coffin of his father to be taken to the ancestral grave-yard. About Hassan's contender for power (Behram Khan) Shrivara goes on to say, "On hearing about the exploits of his nephew (Prince Hassan) and the very low morale of his own forces, Behram Khan left Kashmir along with his son."[171] The chronicler has implicitly narrated that Behram Khan wanted to usurp the throne through force, but Prince Hassan with his bravery over-whelmed his (Behram's) army which ultimately

166) Ibid II, 169-170 ; 167) Ibid II, 177 ; 168) Ibid II, 195 ; 169) 'A History of Muslim rule in Kashmir', 'Kashmir under the Sultans' 'History of Medieval Kashmir', Zaina Tarangini Ibid 209 ;
170) Zaina Tarangini II, 197 ; 171) Ibid II, 200 .

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got depressed. No other course was left to Behram but to flee the country of his birth like his eldest brother Adam. He took his son with, so that he would escape the usual reprisal. If we care to read between the lines about the mention of burial of Haider Khan by Shrivara, the natural inference would be that the burial was delayed because of the uncertain conditions in the city. There must have been street fights between the adherents of Behram and admirers of Hassan. That is also the reason that the Prince had to postpone his coronation by sixteen days. The culmination of this internecine fued we find later, at the very outset of Hassan Shah's rule. Only when calm was restored in the city and it was declared safe for the royal cortege to move to the ancestral burial-ground, Prince Hassan accompanied the coffin of his father to the grave-yard and laid to rest his father Haider Shah towards the feet of his parent Budshah at Mazari Salatin. Everybody present at the funeral threw a handful of earth over his grave. When it got filled up with earth a grave stone higher in the middle was raised on it with the epitaph that "the Sultan was relentless in war."[172] With all his defects, as enumerated earlier, Haider Shah was a great lover of music and fine arts. He composed poetry in Persian and also in the "Language of Hindustan" i. e. (doubtlessly) Hindi.[173] He was also very adept in flute - playing and was considered a past-master in this art. The rabab - players like Bahlol and others were generously rewarded by him. The disciple of Khwaja Abdul Qadir Mulla Daud taught him to play on Veena.[174]

Before concluding we may refer to some points on general information as narrated by Shrivara. Due to excessive use of liquor here in Kashmir, or the decline in the growth of grapes, wine was extracted from suger-beet for the first time here. This "Fairy land of Grapes", so dear to Kalhana and Bilhana, had now declared its bankurpsy in producing this sweet luscious fruit any more.[175]

Shrivara also for the first time gives the synonym of Vitasta as Jhelum. Till his time we nowhere find this notice of Jhelum in Sanskrit chronicles.[176]

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172) Ibid II, 212 ; 173) Ibid II, 215 ; 174) Ibid II, 58-59 ;
175) Ibid II, 54 ; 176) Ibid - III, 202.

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The Sultan though a chronic addict would sometimes pass off nights in vigil listening to the Puranas and other scriptures (of Hindus)[177] laying down the guidelines for salvation. He felt very much impressed by these. Perhaps this was the sole reason which prompted the Sultan to entrust his son, Prince Hassan to Shrivara for his all round upbringing.[178] Shrivara would narrate the tales from Brhat Katha to him.[179] Shrivara has for the first time made mention of the Dal Lake, which name persists even today. Prior to him this lake was known by the name of "Sureshwari Sara." He also refers to the floating gardens on its surface and the twin 'lankas' (islands) of 'Ropa' and 'Sona' there. He writes "spread over twelve miles this Dal Lake has for its constant companion the Hari Parvat which in the hope of reaping virtuous reward always drenches itself with its holy water—(is reflected in its water always)."[180] According to Shrivara the bank of Dal Lake was a hub of cultural and social life of Kashmiris at that time. There, on its bank, were the places of pilgrimage, monastries, palaces, hostels for students and the pennance-groves "more sanctified than Varanasi."[181] Like-wise he has used the epithet "Ullol" for "Mahapadmasar"—the name of the Wular Lake then. One glaring fact comes to surface while going through the reigns of Budshah and his son Haider Shah: that is the ascendancy of Sayeds. In a sense this clan, which got power firstly through the magnetic personalities of Syed Ali Hamdani and his son Syed Mohammed and also through matrimonial alliances with the reigning kings, can be safely called non-Kashmiri. They are supposed to be the direct descendants of Prophet Mohammed. Budshah offered his daughter to Syed Nissar and made him the governor of one of the provinces,

177) Ibid - II, 159.

178) Ibid II, 158; Mohibul Hassan has wrongly reversed the name of the Guru and his pupil 'Kashmir under the Sultans' page 98; Ibid 54, Ibid 150, Ibid 216; Ibid 158;

179) Brhat Katha of Gunadya- a repository of lessons on morals, ethics war, polity etc. The original book has been lost and was later condensed by Ksemendra in his "Manjari."

180) Zaina Tarangini I, 5, 32; 118;

181) Ibid II, 40.

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probably Beerwah, as it is known now. Budshah had even himself married Bodha Khatoon, a Sayed. He also got a Sayed spouse for his son Prince Haibat. Sultan Haider Shah married his son Hassan to a Sayed girl, daughter of Miyan Hassan. In this way, the three Sultans—Budshah, Haidershah and Hassan Shah, the grandfather, the father and the son, had Sayed queens. Therefore, the Sayeds had ample opportunities to come to power over and above the heads of the local factions of Maliks, Magreys, Kuchhais and Yatus.[182] The 'History of Sultans' heretofore is actually a continuous strife between these clans to capture power. At times the helpless Sultan had to surrender to the chief of the victorious faction and appoint him as his Prime Minister.

The Sayeds, commanding respect in the 'harem' got intoxicated by the power they enjoyed with the Sultans and did not behave well and had to be exiled from Kashmir many a time. The notorious Sayed Rebellion will be discussed later at its proper place.

182) Shrivara uses the Sanskrit names "Mallik" "Margesh", "Koshesha" and "Ayuta" for these.

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Sanskrit and Kashmiri Vocabulary.

By Shri Badari Nath Shastri (Kalla)
M. A., M. O. L., B. ED.

Kashmir has played a leading role in the development of Indian culture. This sacred land has been a renowned seat of learning (Sharada Peetha) through the ages Being a prominent centre of Sanskritic learning, it has been well-known as "Sharada Peeth" from times immemorial. Numerous Acharyas, learned Pandits, poets and philosophers, scholars and savants, rhetoricians and historians have been making significant contributions to different branches of learning (Indology) from time to time.

Kashmir held an exalted position in this behalf especially for about four hundred years, from 8th to 12th century A. D. It is during this period that most of the philosophers like Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, historians like Kalhana and Bilhana, and other well-known writers flourished there.

Before the thirteenth century A. D., Sanskrit, Prakrit and the then native Kashmiri abounding in Prakrit and Apabhramsa were in vogue in Kashmir as media of expression and writing. The well-known poet Bilhana (11th century) remarks, in his "great" poetical work (Mahakavya)- *Vikramanka-deva-carita-* that Kashmir has been a wonderful land of Sanskrit. He says, in this land of Saraswati, even women talk in Sanskrit and Prakrit, besides in their native language (the then Kashmiri).

"यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदे
प्रत्यावासं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतञ्च"

The age of Muslim rule in Kashmir started from the early years of the 14th century. Among the Muslim rulers of this age, Renchan Shah (Sadarudin), Shahmir, Shahab-Ud-Din, Kutab-Ud-Din, Sikandar and Zain-Ul-Abdin are notable. It is upto the reigns of Shahab-Ud-Din and Sikandar that Sanskrit was one of the court languages in Kashmir. We find so many inscriptions in Sanskrit belonging to the period of the later Muslim kings, which exist even upto this day. Not only this; even Muslims gave preference to Sanskrit

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language for engraving particulars of the deceased on their tombs, as is indicated by Sanskrit inscriptions on tombs existing upto this day.

In support of this view, R. L. Stein says :—

> "The continued popular use of Sanskrit even among Mohammadans is strikingly proved by the Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Bahau-ud-Din Sahib at Srinagar (A. D. 1484). Brief Sanskrit inscriptions, without dates, have been found by me on a number of old Mohammadan tombs in Srinagar, near Martand and else-where" (R. T. English Translation Part. I, Introduction P. 131.)

In the time of King Zain-ul-Abdin (1423-1475 A. D.), both Sanskrit and Persian were in use in Kashmir. For some time a mixed language, composed of Sanskrit and Persian, was in use there. From the writings of Kshemendra, the namesake of the earlier Kshemendra, the author of Desopadesa, as in Loka Prakasa, it is evident that the mixed language was then in use in official work and in courts, as is indicated by the following :—

"संवरसरेऽत्र दिने श्री प्रेनापितकदले थैजि-
अमुकेन रैंज्जि अमुसयुत्रेण हस्ते सति बगलचीरिका दत्ता ।
यथा अत्र आगरान्तरे खुज्या अमुकः खुज्या अमुक प्रति लिखति-
खुज्या अमुके सलामा बन्दगी ददनीयमिति" ।

A will of the saint Mukdum Sahib (1600 A. D.), written in mixed Sankrit and Persian, is available in both the scripts, Sharada and Persian, as preserved in Jammu & Kashmir State Museum.

Upto the thirteenth century, the entire literature produced in Kashmir is written not in any language other than Sanskrit or Prakrit. The first book which preserves the writings in the-then-in-vogue old Kashmiri, viz. the Mahanaya Prakasa by Shitikantha, now extant, available in Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies (Publication) No. 21, belongs to the later half of the 13th century. A specimen of old Kashmiri writings (from the said book) is given below :—

यसु यसु जन्तुस संविद यस यस
नील पति सुख दुःख सरूप ।

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उदयिसंदन्त समानी समरस
कमकम्पनं तसं तसं अनुरूपं ॥

After Shitikantha's work, we are in possession of a collection of verses, namely Lala-vakya, by a well-known saint-poetess Hindu hermitess Lalleshvari of Kashmir, belonging to the 14th century, which are composed in pure Kashmiri, as, for instance, the following verse indicates :—

ग्वरं शब्दस युस यछ्-पछ् बरे
ग्यान वगि रटिं च्यत स्वर्गस ।
यन्द्रय शोमरिथ आनन्द करे,
अद कुस मरे त' मारन कस ॥

It was the time when the teachers and missionaries of Islam, like Zul Kadar Khan, Mir Syed Ali Hamdani and others came to Kashmir from the West. Some of them settled in the valley as permanent inhabitants. They brought to this land Islamic civilization, which they propagated with the result that so many Arabic and Persian words got mixed in Kashmiri language.

Another Kashmiri *Hindu* saint-poet, Nund Rishi, who was named Sheikh Nur-Ud-Din after his conversion to Islam, a contemporary of Lalleshvari, belonging to the village Chrar near Srinagar, flourished in the 14th century. So many collections of his verses, written in Kashmiri language, are available, in which pure Kashmiri words have been used. The following verse is quoted here from his collections, as a specimen :—

आनाह कर्यजि युथ न कांह् डेशी,
ग्यानाह कर्यजि गुपिथ पान ।
क्रिया कर्यजि युथ न जाथ मशी
मशी न त, अद पनुन पान ॥

The next old Kashmiri work available in manuscript form, in Sharada script, is the first known Khanda-Kavya written in Kashmiri language, namely "Banasur-Katha" by Autar Kishen Bhatta, inhabitant of the village Lara. The plot of this Kavya is taken from Hari-vamsa-Purana. In its language we find abundance of Sanskrit and pure

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Kashmiri words. It is the best specimen of a Khanda-Kavya in Kashmiri, which is furnished with rhetorical embellishments, viz. Alankaras, like simile, metaphor, alliteration, etc. Its poetical speciality is that it abounds in puns and play on words. A specimen of this poetry is given as under :—

वैनतेयस चडेत दुज्जने
हेलि गच्छी सौ शत्र मारग्गि ।
रहो येन अनिरुद्ध दुज्जने
तुलि बाण दितिपुत्र मारने ।।

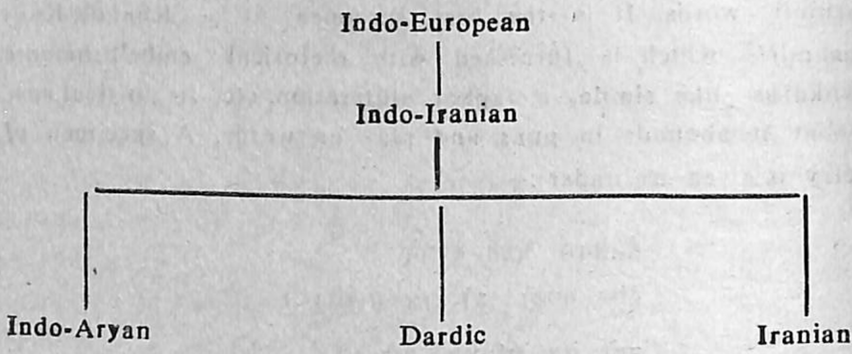
A manuscript of this work - "Banasura-katha" is preserved in Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Next, there is a host of poets in Kashmiri, such as Rupa Devi, Parmananda, Arnimal, Aziz Darvesh, Khwaja Habiba, Wahab Khar, and others. In their compositions, mostly, we find that free use has been made of Persian and Arabic words in addition to Kashmiri, especially by Muslim poets. This tendency among Muslim poets is also due to the use of Persian as court language under Muslim rule.

Taking into consideration the Kashmiri words apart from Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic words, a view has been expressed by some well-known linguists, like Grierson, that Kashmiri language is of Dard origin. Dard is a country lying between Baltistan and river Tanjir. The said linguists are of opinion that Kashmiri language is related to the language of Dard country (Taraporewalla, Elements of Science of Language, Ist Edition, p. 362).

Here, it appears to be appropriate to cite the view-point of linguists with regard to the Kashmiri language. Among the language families of the world, Indo-European languages are wide-spread and fully developed. These are spoken by people in highly civilized, powerful and progressive countries. Indo-European family of languages has got many sub-divisions. It is classified by linguists as follows :—

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[(1) Indo-Aryan,
(2) Iranian, and
(3) Dardic or Paisachi.]

In the area stretching from Hindukush (in the north of Afghanistan) upto Kashmir are spoken Shina, Vashagali and other languages. In them, the characteristics of Indian and Iranian greatly agree with one another. These languages can also be classified among the Indo-Iranian languages. Grierson calls this group of languages as Paishachi.

It is said that one sub-division of Aryans coming from Central Asia did not reach the plains of India; they settled just on the hilly tracts in the North. The same tract of land is known as Dard and the language spoken by the inhabitants of this land is called Dardic or Paisachi. It is admitted by some scholars that Kashmiri language is somehow related to Dardic or Paishachi language.

According to Grierson, Shina Kashmiri and Kohistani belong to Daradic family of languages. Shina is an example of pure 'Dardic class. Kohistani is a class of undeveloped sub-languages spoken near the Northern frontier regions of India, which are influenced by Pushto as well as Indian languages. Shina is spoken in Gilgit and in the valley lying nearby. It is said that Gunadya's Brhat-katha was written in the old Kashmiri or Paishachi language, which is now irrecoverable.

Aryans must have been greatly impressed by seeing the bewitching natural scenary of Kashmir, such as its rivers and streams, mountains, lakes and pastures, as a result of which they settled there also. There language was Sanskrit. For this reason, the names of various

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well-known places of Kashmir today are of Sanskritic origin, which are still in vogue even after centuries. Even at present also, we find clear influence of Vedic and Sanskrit languages on Kashmiri. In the pure Kashmiri which was formerly in vogue in the valley we find 100% Sanskrit words.

In addition to what hss been said above, it may also be stated that during Muslim rule there has been great influence of Persian and Arabic upon Kashmiri. Generally speaking languages are dynamic, and not static. The effect of Arabic and Persian on the languages of this country was inevitable, as there was for a long time the rule of Mughuls and Afghans and Sikh governors, when Persian was the Court language in Kashmir.

Sharada was the script of Kashmiri language, and it is just similar to Gurmukhi or Panjabi script. Ancient literature of Kashmir is found written in Sharada script, such as Lalla-vakya, Banasur-katha Janama-carita of Sahib Kaul, and so on.

Indian languages derived from Sanskrit first took the form of Prakrit and Apabhramsa. It is owing this fact that we find so many Prakrit and Apabhramsa words used in Kashmiri languages, which contain also the words derived from the said two languages. The remaining words other than Prakrit and Apabhramsha and those derived from them are either those of native or foreign languages.

If we take notice of the numbers expressed in Kashmiri languages, some of them, derived from Sanskrit, have remained almost similar in Kashmiri and Indian languages. Although they slightly differ in quantity of vowels, yet there is hardly any difference between the two. For instance, let us take the Hindi word 'sat', which comes from the Sanskrit word 'sapta'. In Prakrit it becomes 'satta' and in Kashmiri 'satha'. It is one of the characteristics of Kashmiri language that its words are generally aspirated in the end. Another example in support of this characteristics of Kashmiri language, is the word 'dittha' in Prakrit which is derived from Sanskrit 'drstam'. In Kashmiri this word becomes 'dyutthum'. Other examples of this practice followed in Kashmiri languages are the words 'mvatha', 'jyutha', 'ruttha' which are the altered forms of the Prakrit 'muththi', 'jjettha', and 'ruttha' which are derived from Sanskrit 'mush'i', 'jyeshta', and 'rushta',

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respectively. Keeping these examples in view, we come to the conclusion that Kashmiri language has taken words from Prakrit. In a similar way, it has also taken a number of words from Apabhramsha. The following examples will show how Sanskrit words changed in Apabhramsha come in to use in Kashmiri, as Avantipur, Lalitpur, Skandhapur, Pratappur, etc., are altered in Kashmiri as Vontipur, Lyatapur, Khundur, etc., respectively. As indicated by the above examples, Kashmiri is a form of Prakrit or Apabhramsha.

Most of the vocabulary of Kashmiri language is similar to that of Sanskrit, as will be noticed from the under-given comparative tables, The vowels used in Kashmiri language are very close to the vowel sounds in Sanskrit. Not only this, even nominal derivations and verbal derivations in Sanskrit language occur in Kashmiri language as well; their influence on Kashmiri language is predominant. As an instance, Sanskrit word 'drsyaman' becomes 'drenthaman' in Kashmiri. Similar examples are Kashmiri words *Karitha*, *Khyatha*, *likhitha*, *ditha*, *rachitha*, *davitha*, *maritha*, *calitha*, *zinith*, which are formed from original Sanskrit *Krtva*, *khaditva*, *likhitva*, *datva*, *raksitva*, *dhavitva*, *mrtva*, *calitva*, jitva, respectively.

In Kashmiri, as in Sanskrit, suffixes are formed almost in a similar manner, as Kandur, vovur, dandur, gobur, labur, etc. Use of the tenses in Kashmiri, like lan (imperfect past) and (imperative mood), is found almost like that in Sanskrit, as for instance :—

Sanskrit Sentences :- (लङ् लकार)	Kashmiri Sentences :- (Past)
स एक: जन आसीत् ।	सु अख जोन ओस ।
सभामध्ये कति जन: आसन् ।	सबि मंज़ कच़ ज़ेन्य आस्स ।
तत्र अनेके लोका आसन् ।	तति अनीख लूख आस्य ।
स एक: मूढ़ आसीत् ।	सु अख मुड ओस ।
आमभाजनं तत्र मा आसीत् ।	ओमबान तति मा ओस ।
तस्य पाद्स्थतले सर्पं आसीत् ।	तस पदिस तल स्वरूफ ओस ।
स समस्य सम आसीत् ।	सु समिस स्वम ओस ।
स तत्कार्यस्यमध्ये लग्न आसीत् ।	सु तथ कारस मंज लोग (मुत) ओस ।
स मित्रं आसीत् ।	सु मेथर ओस ।

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Sanskrit Sentences	Kashmiri Sentences
लोट् लकार :-	(Imperative)
दूर मा गच्छ	दूर म गछ
चिरं मा कुरु	चेर म कर
तप्तं मा खादय	तोत म ख्य
तत्र मा चल	तोत म च्‌ल
दुग्धं मा आनय	दवद म अन
आमभाजनं तत्र मा स्थापय	ओम बान् तति म थव।
ज्ञानं मा कुरु	जान म कर
तत्र मन्दाक्षं मा कुरु	तति मन्दछ म कर।
पानीयं मसिनं मा कुरु	पोञ्य मांल म कर।
तत्र मा वस	तति म बस
क्षारणं मा तोलय	छोन म तोल
परिमाणं तस्मै देहि	परमान तस दि
तुम्बीमानय	तुम्ब अन
मा लिख	म लेख
निर्गच्छ	नेर गछ
शाकलेशं देहि	हाक लिश दि
रेखापुज्जं मा कुरु	रिख पोंज़ म कर
नक्रपुटकं क्षालय	नक वोर छल
एतु एतु।	इत इत।

Many Sanskrit pronouns are used in Kashmiri language almost in the original form, as in the following :—

तस्मै मा देहि	तस म दि।
इमे कुत्र गतः	इम कोत गय।
अस्य निकटे मा वस	अस नख म बस।
मह्यं (मे) मा देहि।	मे म दि।

As said above, Kashmiri has taken words from Sanskrit and Prakrit. The following examples are cited in support :—

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Often joint letter 'ksa' at the end or in the middle of Sanskrit words is changed into *'chha'* in Kashmiri, as is evident from the following tables :—

Sanskrit	Kashmiri		Sanskrit	Kashmiri	
पक्ष	पछ	लक्ष	लछ	क्षीण	छोन
रक्ष	रछ	वक्ष	वछ	मन्दाक्ष	मन्दछ
कक्ष	कछ	लाक्षा	लाछ	दक्षिण	दछुन
यक्ष	यछ	माक्ष	माछ	पक्षिन्	पछुन
तक्ष	तछ	द्राक्षा	दछ	शिक्षण	ह्यछुन

(Exceptions)

पक्ष	पख	पक्ष	पोख
मोक्ष	मूख्य		

Cerebal 'sa' and palatal 'sa' and 'sa' in the beginning or in the end of Sanskrit words are changed into 'ha' in Prakrit and in Kashmiri as is clear from the following examples :—

पौष	पोह	तुषा	तोह	शुष्क	होख
क्रोश	क्रुह	माषा	माह	शरद	हरद
कृष्ण	क्रहुन	दश	दह	श्वित्र	ह्यथुर
शत	हथ	शाक	हाख	श्रृङ्ग	ह्यंग
विंश	वुह	त्रिश:	त्रहि	शनै: शनै:	हन्य हन्य

The exceptions to the above are as follows:—

पुष्प	पोश	शुक	शोग	तृषा	त्रेश
शून्य	शुन्य	श्याम	श्याम	महिष	म'श

Often consonant *'pa'* in the beginning, or in the middle, or in the end in Sanskrit are changed in both Kashmiri and Prakrit into 'va'; see the following examples :—

पत्र	वथर	वपन	वुवुन
पथ	वथ	स्थापन	थवुन
ताप	ताव	दापन	दावुन
कच्छप	केछव	नापित	नोविद
तपन	तवुन	स्थापय	थव
लेपन	लिवुन		

Sanskrit	Prakrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Prakrit	Kashmiri
महिषी	महिसी	म'श	ग्राम	गाम	गाम
कषपट्ट	कसवह	क'ह व'ट	वस	बस	बस

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Sanskrit	Prakrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Prakrit	Kashmiri
श्रद्य	श्रज्ज	श्रज	धर्म	धम्म	गुम
जीव	जीश्र	वज	पत्र	पत्त	पताह्
ज्ञान	जाण	ज़ान	ज्येष्ठ	ज्येठ	ज्युठ
मध्य	मज्झं	मंज	कुमारी	कुमरी	कूर
कर्पूर	कप्पूर	कोपूर	शर्करा	सक्करा	शकर
जानीहि	जाण	ज़ान	तत्र	तत्थ	तोत
भगिनी	बहिणीए	बिन्य	कृष्	कड्ढ	कड
नय	णइ	नि	क्षालय	च्छालइ	छल
हृष्ट	हट्ठ	ह्ठ	चर्म	चम्म	चम
स्वर	सुर	स्वर	ओष्ठ	ओठ्ठ	वुठ
दूर	दूर	दूर	कस्य	कस्स	कस
नम	णम	नम	श्रेष्ठी	सेठी	सेठ
ददातु	देउ	दय	ग्रन्थि	गंठी	गण्ड
नर्त	नच्च	नच	मुष्टि	मुट्ठि	म्वठ
शब्द	सद्द	सदाह	जर्जर	जज्जर	ज्वजुर
रस	रस	रस	शिथल	सिढिल	ड्युल
वर्द्ध	वड्ढ	वड	नाम	नाम	नाम
तैल	तेल	तील	सप्त	सत्त	सथ
तुषार	तुसार	तूर	कज्जल	कज्जल	कछुल
अक्षि	अच्छि	ओछ	दण्ड	डड	डंड
कर्ण	कण्ण	कन	स्पर्श	प्फस्स	फश
स्वर्ण	सुवण्ण	स्वन	वल्गा	वग्गा	वग
दुग्ध	दुद्ध	दुवद	श्रृङ्गार	सिंगार	सिंगार
मूल	मूल	मूल	सपाद:	सवाश्र	स्वाद
दश	दह	दह	षण्ढ:	सड्ड	स्रड
वर्णाय	वण्णाश्र	वन	फुत्क:	फुक्क:	फख
नक्रशिरा	नक्कसिरा	नस सेर	क्षम्प	छंप	छोंफ
काष्ठ	कट्ठ	काठ			

The following exceptions may be noted :—

पुष्प	पोश	पालन	पालुन	पाक	पाख
पारद	पारुद	कम्पन	कोंपुन	रौप्य	रोफ

'*sth*' and '*stha*' at the end of Sanskrit words is changed into '*ta*' and '*tha*' respectively, as in the following cases :—

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Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
ज्येष्ठ	ज्युठ	श्रोष्ट	वुठ	रुष्ट	रूठ
कोष्ठ	कुठ	काष्ठ	काठ	भ्रष्ट	ब्रोठ
अष्ट	आठ	ऊष्ट्र	वूंठ	वेष्टन	वुठुन
पुष्ट	पूठ	मिष्ट	म्यूठ	मुष्ठ	मुठ

Sound 'ra' in Sanskrit words is often omitted in Kashmiri and Prakrit, as in the following cases:—

स्वर्ण	स्वन	शूर्प	शुप	खर्जूर	खजीर
कर्ण	कन	पर्ण	पन	जर्जर	ज्वजुर
चर्म	चम	कर्पास	कपस्	भर्जन	बुजुन
कर्म	काम	धूर्ण	चन	आर्द्र	अ'दुर ।

The exceptions to the above rule are as follows:—

भूर्ज	बुर्ज	दर्भ	दर्ब
घर्म	गर्म	सर्प	सरुप

'sa' in the beginning of Sanskrit words is eliminated in Kashmiri and Prakrit, as in the following examples:—

स्थाल	थाल	स्फटुन	फटुन	स्तम्भ	थम्ब
स्तन	थन	स्फुरण	फोरुन	स्पन्द	प्वन्द
स्थान	थान	स्थापन	थवुन		
स्पर्श	फश	स्नुषा	नुश		

Following exceptions may be noted:—

स्वर्ण	स्वन	स्वाद	साद
स्मरण	स्वरुन	स्वर्ग	स्वर्ग

First letter 'ha' in Sanskrit words is changed into 'a' in Kashmiri; see the following examples:—

हडड	अड	हस्त	अथ
हल	अल	हार	आःर
हसन	असुन	ह्वल	अल

Following are the exceptions to the above rule:—

हठ	हठ	हस्ती	होस
हवन	हवन	हख	हख

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'tra' in the end of Sanskrit words is changed into 'ta' in Kashmiri and in Prakrit, as is clear from the following examples :—

Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
तत्र	तोत	यत्र	योत		
अत्र	ओत	दात्र	द्रात		
कुत्र	कोत	छत्र	छ्'तर		

Exceptions to the above rule may be noted as follows :—

चैत्र	चिथर	मूत्र	मुथर
गोमूत्र	ग्रमिथ	मंत्र	मन्थर

Often 'la' in the end of Sanskrit words is changed into 'ji' in feminine gender in Kashmiri, as in the following cases :—

पल	पोज्य	तूलि	तुज्य	कुलाला	क्राज्य
कल	केज्य	कील	किज्य	मूली	मुज
कुण्डली	कवण्डज्य	पाल	पोज्य	मिल	मीज्य
गल	ग'ज्य	पेशल	पिशिज्य	फुल्ल	फ'ज्य
तल	त'ज्य	खलि	खज्य	मण्डली	म्वडज्य
चल	च'ज्य				

Following exception to the rule may be noticed :—

कोकिला	कुकिल	तल	तल
मल	मल	जल	जल

In certain cases, even the syntax agrees in both Sanskrit and Kashmiri, as in the following cases :—

Sanskrit Sentences :-	Kashmiri Sentences :-
अहो ! सः कुत आगतः	अहो ! सु कति आव
पुष्पं फुल्लम्	पोश फोल
शुष्कघासभारं तत्र मा नय	होख गास बोर तोत म नि
यत्किञ्चित् गतम् तत् गतम्	यि केंह गव ति गव ।
भक्तम् दग्धम् ।	बत दोद
स मा करिष्यति	सु मा करि ।
तस्य (तेन) सार्धं तत्र गच्छ	तस स'त्य तोत गछ ।

Words in Kashmiri are almost the same or similar to Vedic words. The influence of Vedic words upon Kashmiri is evident from the following examples :—

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Vedic	Kashmiri	Vedic	Kashmiri
वांज	वाज्	वयः	वय
तम	तम	प्रव	प्रंव
सिन	स्युन	यदिडवै	युदवय
पुष्प	पोश	अव	अव
पूर	पूर	रिष्	रेह
त्वक्ष	त्वछ	मद्य	म्वय
दिव्य	दिव	भाम	बोम
कक्ष	कछ	ग्रास	ग्रोस
बुध्न	बुन	द्वार	दार
अग्नि	अगन	रस	रस
मूलं	मूल	पव	पवं
पत्रं	वंथर	सन्न	सोन
अक्षि	अ'छ	भ्रष्टि	बोठ
वितस्ता	व्यथ		

Following table indicates comparison between Sanskrit Vocabulary and Kashmiri Vocabulary :—

Names of ornaments :—

Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
कर्णावलया	कन,वोज	कण्ठमाला	कांठमाल
कुण्डली	कुण्डली	चम्पाकलिः	चफ'कल्य
नासावलया	नस्त,वोज	भाजुबन्ध	बाजबन्द फा०
मत्स्यबन्ध	मछबन्द	तुलसी	त्वलसी
कण्ठहार	कांठहार	कटकः	कउर
लवङ्गः	रोंग	तालरज्जु	तालरज्
रुद्रमाला	लदरमाल	स्वडा+कटकः	स्वडकोर
रुणत्क	रवनि		
चन्दनहारः	चन्दनहार	मुक्ताहार	मुक्तहार
बाहुवटः	बावुट	गोनसा	गुनस
पादकटकः	पांकरि	कङ्कणः	कङ्कण्य
अलकसपरः	अलकहोर	बिन्दु	बिन्द+र
डयक+ तिलकः	डयकटिक	क्षीरवलयः	क्षीर व'लि
वेणिका+लटः	वांकलोट	मुक्ताफला	मुक्त फल्य

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Names of Colours :—

Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
श्वेत	छोत	उज्जवल	वजुल
तिलकशारः	टयच,होर	कृष्णः	क्रुहुन
नीलः	न्यूल	शारः	होर
हरिद्रा	ल्य,द्दर	गौर	गुर
कर्बुरः	काचुर	श्यामः	हांम
भ्रमरः	बोम्बुर	घनश्यामः	गेशोम

Names of Musical Instruments :—

डिण्डिमः	डुम डुम	तुम्बकनाडी	तुम्बखन्नेर
दुकटः	दुकुर	डामर	डाब'र
स्वरनाडी	स्वरनय	वंशी	बंसी
ढोल	डोल	तूर्य	तुरी
मुरली	म्वरली	सारङ्गी	सारंग
स्थाली	थालज्य	वीणा	बीन
वाद्य	बाज		

Names of parts of the body :—

अक्षि	अ'छ	कर्ण	कन
ओष्ठ	वुठ	जिह्वा	ज्यव
नासा	नस	आस्य	आंस
तालु	ताल	गल	गल
अक्षिबाल:	अछरवाल	वक्त्रः	वुथ
मुखगण्डः	मुगण्ड	दन्तः	दन्द
हस्तः	अथ	नखः	नम
अङ्गुष्ठ	न्युठ	रक्त	रथ
खुर	खुर	जङ्घा	जंग
कुच+रः	कुचर	वक्ष	वछ
हड्ड	अड	नाडी	नार, न'र
कफोणि	खुन	मूत्र	मथर
मल	मल	प्लीहा	पोहु
काणः	कोन	मांसः	माज
कृष्णमांसः	क्रहन माज	कनीयस्	किस
श्वालनाडी	शाह नोर	कपालः	कल

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Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
बुक्क+वटः	बुकव'ट	अन्त्रम्	अन्दरम्
नलः	नल	काण्डः	कान्य
चर्वणः	चर्वन	मण्डलः	मन्दुल
भ्रूः	बुम	तैर+पित्तः	तिलप्योत

Names of the months :—

वैशाखः	वह्यख	ज्येष्ठः	जेठ
आषाढः	ह्वार	श्रावण	श्रावुन
भाद्रपदः	बोदरप्यथ	अश्विन	आशिद
कार्तिकः	कतक	मार्गशीर्षः	मंजहोर
पौषः	पोह	माघः	माग
फाल्गुणः	फागुन	चैत्र	चिथर ।

Names of the days :—

आदित्यवारः	आथवार	चन्द्रवार	चंदरवार
भौमवार	बोमवार	बुधवार	बुदवार
ब्रहस्पतिवारः	ब्रसवार	शुक्रवारः	शुक्रवार
भट्टारकवारः	बटवार ।		

Names of the Edibles :—

एला	आल	जीरकः	ज्युर
शुष्ठी	शोंठ	हिङ्गु	यंग
नारकेलः	नारजील	खदिरः	खेर
निम्बा	न्युम्ब	दाड़िमः	दान
कपित्थः	कथ	अजमोदा	ज्याव्यन्द
कारवेल	करेल	धान्यः	दानि
लवङ्ग	रोंग	चणकः	चन
भंगा	बङ्ग	शिम्बा	ह्यम्ब
मरीचः	मरच्	गड्ड	गाड
हरिद्रा	ल्यदर	भक्तः	बत
शाकः	हाख	मूली	मुज्य
माषा	माह्	तण्डुलः	तोमुल
कांजिका	कांज	लाजा	लाय
मसूर	मुसुर	मुञ्जा	म्वञ्ज

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Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
लशुनः	रुहन	पलाण्डु	प्राग
व्रीहि	व्रय	तैल	तील
अहिफेन	आफीन	वङ्गनः	वांगुन
अलाबु	अल	उपलशाकः	वुपलहाख
अयन्दा	हुन्द	स्वर्चला	सुचल
लवणः	नून	आलुकः	ओलव
गण्डः	गंड	खण्डः	खंड
मयष्टः	मुठ	कलायः	कर
कनकः	कनख	तृषा	त्रेश
सक्तु	सोख	पानीयं	पोन्य
रसः	रस	शृङ्गाटकः	गार
सरलः	त्रेल	टङ्कः	टंग
चिरा	चेर	द्राक्षा	दछ
माक्षा	माछ	शर्करा	शकर
मौलि	मधल	राममाषा	रमाहृ
कम्बूकः	कोम	कदली	केल
गर्जरः	गाजर	गुड	गोर
घृतः	ग्यव	दुग्ध	दु'द

Names of birds and animals :—

चरकः	चेर	शारी	हार
पक्षिण्	प'छन	काकः	काव
सर्पः	स'रुफ	हस्ती	होस
वानरः	वान्दुर	प्लवङ्गः	पोंज
सिंहः	स'ह	भृङ्गलः	हांगुल
शृगालः	शाल	कच्छपः	क'छव
कूर्मः	किम	ऊष्ट्रः	वू'ठ
सूकरः	सोर	महिषः	मोश
मृगः	भ्रग	बकः	बग
गृध्र	ग्रट	घोटक	गुर
गौ (गाव्)	गाव	खरः	खर

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Sanskrit	Kashmiri	Sanskrit	Kashmiri
कोकिल:	कुकिल	गोनाम	गुनस
मण्डूक:	मान (निञ्यमुंडज)	मीन:	मिन
कुक्कट:	कोकुर	श्वान:	हून
राजहंस	राजहोंज	कुकलास:	केंकलट
तित्तिरि	तितुर	वर्तक:	बतुख
चक्रवाक:	ककुव	दान्त:	दांद
उद्र:	वुदुर	बिडाल:	ब्रोर
श्वापद:	ह्रापुत	ककट:	कठ
छागल:	छावुल	पुच्छलोपाश:	पछ्लोव
खर+फा०गोश	खरगोश		

Names of the Minerals :—

स्वर्ण	स्वन	रौप्य	रोफ
शस्त्रक:	शश्तर	पारद:	पारुद
गौरिक:	ग्यूर	ताम्र	त्राम
सीस:	सीस	लौह:	ल्वय

Numerals

एक:	अख	द्वि	ज़'
त्रि	त्र्य	चतुर	चोर
पञ्च	पांच	षष्ठ	शे
सप्त	सथ	अष्ट	आठ
नव	नव	दश	दह
एकादश	काह		
द्वादश	बाह	त्रयोदश	त्रुवाह
चतुर्दश	चुदाह	पञ्चदश	पन्दाह
षोडश	शुराह	सप्तदश	सदाह
अष्टादश	अरदाह	एकोनविंश:	कुनवुह
विंश	वुह	त्रिंश:	त्रीह
चत्वारिंशत्	चतजिह	पञ्चाशत	पंचाह
षष्टि:	शेठ	सप्तति:	सतथ
अशीति	शीथ	नवति:	नमथ
शत	हथ	सहस्र	सास
लक्ष	लछ	कोटि	करोर
पद्म	पदम	नील	नील
शङ्ख	शंख	दशशङ्ख:	दशशंख

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